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THE PLACE OF HISTORY IN CATHOLIC EDUCATION*

At Providence, a year ago, the retiring President of the American Historical Association opened his address by raising the question of what American historians could do for their fellow citizens in these troubled and alarming times. And surely, if contemporary conditions and events place American historians in general under a special obligation to consider what they may do for all Americans, it is still more incumbent upon us, as members of this Catholic Association, to ask ourselves what particular service we may render, during this crisis, to the fellow members of our Church.

It is, then, with emphasis on the idea of service that I would talk to you of the place which the study of history should occupy in the education of all American Catholics. And if in talking I should seem critical of what has been, or is now being done, I beg you to remember that it is only because I feel that the service we have been giving is inadequate to meet the obligations which present conditions and our responsibilities as Catholics place upon us. One must always appear critical when measuring the approximation to a great ideal.

We know only too well why loyalty to the Church now makes special demands on us. We see her assailed by governments which,

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being more or less in the nature of pagan theocracies, are naturally despotic and brutalizing. Worse still, we see these governments acclaimed by millions of their subjects, and often lauded to the skies by citizens of Christian states. What a strange spectacle they offer to the historian! How curious a product of the "liberal" nineteenth century! Vast throngs of people press forward to give submission or even worship to men and systems which ridicule and trample on the liberties, political and personal, the tolerance in thought and word, the very trust in God or in themselves or both, which were some of the dearest possessions of these very people only a few years ago. Nor are these crowds content with passive roles as subjects and as worshippers. With fists upraised or hands outthrust, they deride the protagonists of Christian ethics as weaklings and inferiors. And, most shocking of all, they teach their children cruelty and pride instead of charity and humility.

But how can men and women who were so much like the rest of us a little while ago be so perverted by the new theocracies? Let us admit quite freely that the poisonous mess of pottage which they are accepting in place of an inestimable birth-right contains some good ingredients, and has at first a savoury smell. Some of the pagan theocrats have shown imagination, conviction, courage and a vast capacity for planned effort. Certain of them have alleviated economic injustices far too long tolerated by more Christian governments, or have restored to their peoples a national self-respect which the governments of some Christian states had sorely trampled on. They have usually met the fundamental human need for settled order in society; and they have known how to make the fullest use of all the instruments for controlling public opinion offered by invention and science. But not even all these things could have given the theocrats their terrible success if practical psychology had not led them to prostitute one generous human instinct to their ends: the instinct of loyalty. Nourish the sentiment of loyalty to one's country among people of civilized instincts, and you may hope to see a patriotism that is entirely admirable. But let this same sentiment be nurtured among people in whom the ethics of Christian civilization have been deliberately displaced to make way for the gospel of force, arrogance and hate,

and the most poisonous form of nationalism will flourish. Since patriotism and the most vicious nationalism are both in part derivable from loyalty, deluded peoples may be persuaded that loyalty binds them even to the worst of governments.

Considering all this, it seems to me that one obligation which rests on Catholic historians stands out clearly. In a world where loyalty is turned into an instrument which helps to darken men's intellects and souls; to reconcile them to the loss of all freedom; to make nations and even groups of fellow citizens into bitter enemies, Catholic historians must do their best to see that loyalty comes into proper use again. They must strive to see that it is placed at the service of Christian civilization and the institutions by which Christian civilization is exemplified; and they must strive most of all to see that the services and the real principles of the Church are understood by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. They must bring back to Christendom the realization that the Church, apart even from its divine nature, is in the highest sense an institution of international utility; that it offers practical reconciliation between order and freedom, patriotism and world-wide brotherhood, tradition and adaptability to men's present needs. Such, indeed, is the duty of every educated Catholic; but it is the very special duty of Catholic historians. For who does not know the power of history to deepen loyalty? The enemies of Christianity know it so well that they have been at the greatest pains to distort history in their service. Contemporary dictators have done it more crudely and superficially, but hardly less effectively, than did Karl Marx. And, needless to say, the power which lies in the use of real history has been perfectly appreciated by the American Catholic hierarchy. The third Plenary Council, which met in Baltimore from November 9 to December 7, 1884, and which was attended by a number of prelates who were also historians,[1] was especially emphatic on this point:

> Scarcely, if at all, secondary to the Church's desire for the education of the clergy, is her solicitude for the education of the laity. It is not for themselves, but for the people, that the Church wishes her clergy to be

[1] See Guilday, "Historians in the American Hierarchy," in the *Eccles. Rev.*, XCII (Feb., 1935), 113-22.

learned. . . . Popular education has always been a chief object of the Church's care. . . . Train your children to a love of history and biography. . . . Teach your children to take a special interest in the history of our country. . . . We must keep firm and solid the liberties of our country by keeping fresh the noble memories of the past and thus sending forth from our Catholic homes into the arena of public life not partisans but patriots.[2]

To say that they enjoined the teaching of Church history is superfluous; and no one can have had deeper appreciation of the fact that Church history cannot be taught without an adequate background.

But the principal suggestion which I have to make to you is that the commands of the hierarchy could be far better carried out by the teaching of much more general history. We all realize, of course, that any attempt to study or teach Church history in a vacuum would be a palpable absurdity. One might as well try to teach the history of American government without going thoroughly into such matters as England's colonial system in the eighteenth century, or the economic and social conditions in the slave states before the Civil War, or the circumstances which produced the need for some "New Deal." To speak frankly, I feel that there has been a tendency in some quarters to portray the history of the Church without giving nearly enough attention to other conditions and occurrences of the time in question. It is so easy to forget that greatness is established only where great effort is called for and put forth; that great errors lie in the perversion or one-sided treatment of great truths; that no man ranked by the Church as a great heretic has failed to show some elements of greatness. But to be deficient in knowledge and appreciation of the Church's adversaries and problems is to lack knowledge and appreciation of her works, and so to miss a great stimulus to loyalty. We appreciate the heroic efforts of Pius XI today only through our knowledge of all that Christianity is now facing; the achievements of earlier Popes and Councils can be properly valued only in the light of similar knowledge concerning their own times.

[2] Guilday, *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy* (Washington, 1923), 250.

It is largely for this reason that I wish to speak to you, not as some former presidents of the Association have done about the study of *Church* history, but about the study of history in general by all Catholics. And perhaps you will bear with me in reminding you that, quite apart from the desirability of inculcating a deeper loyalty to the Church, there are strong reasons for the inclusion of more history courses in Catholic curricula.

For one thing, there is the duty which rests upon all Catholics to work for reform in economic, social and political affairs, especially in accordance with the great papal encyclicals on the social order. Reforms are accomplished most successfully by men who possess serenity, detachment and real knowledge of the institutions with which they have to deal. And from what source, outside religion, can we best obtain detachment and serenity? "History," wrote Lord Acton, "must be our deliverer not only from the undue influence of other times, but from the undue influence of our own, from the tyranny of environment and the pressure of the air we breathe . . . it promotes the faculty of resistance to contemporary surroundings by familiarity with other ages and other orbits of thought."[3] And how, without history, shall we understand the real nature of the institutions with which we are dealing? For an answer I shall give you the words of Frederic Harrison:

> . . . a man, the moment he takes a warm interest in anything—in politics, in education, in science, in art, or in social improvement . . . is striving to throw himself into the stream of some previous human efforts . . . the moment he begins to act, to live, or to think . . . he can as little free himself from the influence of former generations as he can free himself from his personal identity.[4]

Do not the encyclicals themselves display the historical approach in almost every paragraph?

And then, of course, one has always to consider what the study of history may do to deepen the understanding and appreciation of philosophy. This is a difficult subject, concerning which men sharply disagree; but that there is an intimate connection between

[3] *Lectures on Modern History* (London, 1907), 33.
[4] *The Meaning of History* (New York, 1894), 4.

philosophy and history few will deny. Not only Catholics, not only orthodox Protestants, but men of rationalistic views have made decided pronouncements concerning it. Bolingbroke declared that history was "Philosophy teaching by examples," [5] and, strange to relate, the utilitarian John Stuart Mill once even allowed himself to describe the function of the teacher of history in terms which suggest that he was thinking of the ultimate:

> The object is to lead the student to . . . take an interest in history not as a mere narrative, but as . . . an unremitting conflict between good and evil powers, of which every act done by any one of us, insignificant as we are, forms one of the incidents; a conflict in which even the smallest of us cannot escape from taking part, in which whoever does not help the right side is helping the wrong.[6]

Catholics, in their certainty that history is actually the story of God's care for man, but that its full interpretation in this sense lies beyond the powers of the human intellect, are more cautious in defining its relation to philosophy.[7] Lord Acton put the matter quite simply:

> Neither science is perfect till it obtains the confirmation of the other . . . Philosophy must be seen by the light of history that the laws of its progress may be understood; and history . . . cannot overlook the vicissitudes of philosophic schools.[8]

As for specific examples, there is one among many which stands out in the mind of every Catholic—St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei*. How much we should lose in appreciation of this supreme demonstration of Catholic philosophy if we did not know the history of St. Augustine's time!

One must remember, too, that the apologetic value of the history of the Church does not appear unless Church history is studied against a general background.[9] Cardinal Newman, in declaring

[5] Cited by J. G. Fitch, *Lectures on Teaching* (Cambridge, 1882), 432.

[6] *Inaugural Address delivered to the University of St. Andrews* (London, 1867), 14.

[7] See Professor R. J. S. Hoffman's Introduction to "The Catholic Philosophy of History," in *Papers of the American Catholic Historical Association* (New York, 1936), viii-ix.

[8] *Essays and Studies*, 326.

[9] Dr. P. J. Barry has pointed out (*Papers of the American Catholic Historical Association*, III, 157) that Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History* was "in the patristic sense, a great apology for the Catholic Church."

that to be deep in history was to cease to be a Protestant, was not referring particularly to Church history. For it is only when the amazing powers of the Church in survival, recuperation and development are viewed in contrast with all other institutions surveyed by the historian that its uniqueness is fully apparent. One of the most eminent of American historians, in inquiring as to whether one can discover law in history, has pointed out that, while "the continuity of history is a law . . . there seems [also] to be a law of impermanence, of mutability." And he continues: "So persistent and infinitely repeated has been [the] disappearance of successive organizations of men and types of civilization that it gives every indication of being the result of a law rather than a mere succession of chances." [10] Neither law nor succession of chances seem to have produced, nor be likely to produce, any impermanence or fundamental mutability in the Church.

And, finally, there is the supreme reason why the study of history seems to be almost an obligation resting upon every Christian. Once again one turns to Acton for the perfection of statement:

> I hope that . . . history will aid you to see that the action of Christ who is risen on mankind whom he redeemed fails not, but increases; that the wisdom of divine rule appears not in the perfection but in the improvement of the world . . . Then you will understand what a famous philosopher said, that History is the true demonstration of Religion.[11]

The same thought must have been in the mind of the great Anglican historian, Bishop Stubbs, when he declared that modern history (and he included the history of the middle ages in the term) "is, next to Theology itself, and only next in so far as Theology rests on a divine revelation, the most thoroughly religious training that the mind can receive." [12]

But it is time that I stopped preaching to the converted, and turned to an ungrateful task which I set myself at the beginning of my talk: to measure the service we writers and teachers of history are giving to the Church against the service which we might hope to give. And first I should like, by the use of an

[10] E. P. Cheyney, *Law in History and Other Essays* (New York, 1927), 12-13.
[11] *Lectures on Modern History*, 12.
[12] *Lectures on Mediaeval and Modern History* (Oxford, 1887), 10.

analogy, to remind you of what I take to be one of the most important duties resting upon us as members of this Association and upon our co-workers in Catholic rectories, universities, colleges and religious communities. I suppose we should regard ourselves as being, among other things, a sort of irrigation reservoir, from which channels branch out and out to reach the young people of every American and Canadian diocese. It is pleasant at any rate to think that any useful work we do will ultimately help to produce a greater understanding of, and liking for, history, and therefore a greater loyalty to the Church, among the pupils in hundreds of parochial schools. But we cannot hope to do much in achieving this aim unless we are willing to confront our limitations as teachers and writers, and to seek for remedies. To suggest consideration of these matters is a price which I must pay for the great honor you bestowed on me last year.

As teachers of history we are, I suppose, very much like the non-Catholic members of our craft, save that we have one extra temptation and two or three great advantages. Having such certitude in our religion, we are, I think, especially tempted to be over positive concerning other things, and to place too high a valuation on our views. But the younger ones among us are securing the best of correctives by longer and longer residence in Catholic and non-Catholic graduate schools; while we who can no longer enroll as students anywhere, may keep before our eyes the injunctions of that great Catholic historian, Lord Acton:

> Learn as much by writing as by reading; be not content with the best book; seek sidelights from the others; have no favourites; keep men and things apart; guard against the prestige of great names; see that your judgments are your own, and do not shrink from disagreement; no trusting without testing; be more severe to ideas than to action; do not overlook the strength of the bad cause or the weakness of the good; never be surprised by the crumbling of an idol or the disclosure of a skeleton; judge talent at its best and character at its worst; suspect power more than vice, and study problems in preference to periods.[13]

There are few historians of any country or of any faith who would not benefit by keeping these words before their eyes.

Our advantages as teachers are very obvious. For one thing,

[13] *Lectures on Modern History*, 23.

our philosophy should make it easier for us than for other men and women to teach with tolerant understanding, with detachment and serenity. But what seems to me a greater asset still is that it is easier for us to give our teaching that quality without which no teaching is ever of the best, the quality of enthusiasm. We have a special reason for hoping that our work may constitute a real service; and, in common with many other churchgoers, we have constantly before our eyes a demonstration of what may be achieved by personal influence. Cardinal Newman has reminded us that in religious teaching the "great instrument, or rather organ, has ever been that which nature prescribes in all education, the personal presence of a teacher." [14] And he not only warned us against "a stiff manner, a pompous voice, coldness and condescension," but has shown us what the real teacher must be to his students:

> The general principles of any study you may learn by books at home; but the detail, the colour, the tone, the air, the life which makes it live in us, you must catch all these from those in whom it lives already . . . The Professor is the science or subject vitalized and humanized in the student's presence. He sees him kindle into his subject.[15]

Surely we Catholics should find it easier to "kindle into" history than most men.

Where many find the actual service which we render lagging especially far behind the ideal, or perhaps the possible, is in the published output of American Catholic historians. That Catholics have written more concerning the history of their *Church* than any other religious body in this country is an admitted fact.[16] Moreover, each of us can call to mind a few admirable books and a fair number of admirable articles in other fields of history which have come from Catholic pens. And it is an especially pleasant task to pay tribute here, in Philadelphia, to what has been done. For here it was that the American Catholic Historical Society, the forerunner of our Association, was founded fifty-three years ago;

[14] *The Office and Work of Universities* (London, 1856), 21-2.
[15] *Ibid.*, 13, 113, 280.
[16] W. G. Leland in the *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, II (Jan., 1917), 390.

and here it is that a distinguished group, including the Association's first president, Dr. Lawrence F. Flick, has labored with pronounced success. But when one notes what historians of our faith in other countries have achieved; when one attempts to estimate the numbers, the scholarly interests and the learning of those Catholic clergymen and laymen in this country and in Canada whose lives are given largely or entirely to the study and the teaching of history; when one remembers the high hopes with which this Association was founded in 1919, one cannot escape a certain amount of discouragement and bewilderment. And these feelings become the more pronounced when one realizes how great a need there is for certain kinds of historical writing by Catholic authors.

Although I have spoken only of the need for certain kinds of books, we should all be glad to see more work by American Catholic historians in all fields. It is not, of course, that we should expect them to differ from the works of non-Catholics as to facts. Our standard, defined with especial emphasis by Leo XIII in his letter announcing the opening of the Vatican archives, is one of universal validity:

> . . . the first law of history is, not to dare to utter falsehood; the second, not to fear to speak the truth; and, moreover, no room must be left for suspicion of partiality or prejudice. . . .[17]

We can be happy, too, that most non-Catholic authors and publishers are far more anxious than at any previous time to avoid misstatements concerning our faith, our codes and the Church's history.[18] Many textbooks of non-Catholic authorship have found acceptance in leading Catholic universities, colleges and schools. But when we note that St. Augustine, and all those who write in the spirit of St. Augustine's philosophy are regarded by some non-Catholic historians, not merely as constituting a particular school,

[17] Cf. Guilday, *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, VI (Apr., 1920), 5.

[18] On the other hand some unfortunate misstatements appear in recent books of distinguished authorship, such as Dr. H. A. L. Fisher's *History of Europe* and the *Introduction to Mediaeval Europe* of Professors Thompson and Johnson. Such misstatements merely reflect unconscious bias or a failure on the author's part to secure accurate information. In this connection F. R. S. Windle's *Historical Text Books and Readers*, privately printed for the West-

but as disseminating "propagandist" and "misleading" views which "criticism" can "demolish,"[19] we realize that there is, after all, a gulf between Catholic and most non-Catholic history, and that Catholic treatments are much needed for use in certain grades of education and in certain historical fields.

We need not trouble much, I think, about young men and women who are advanced enough to study history from original sources and approach secondary books with a critical attitude. Hence we may regard monographs, biographies and other special studies published by Catholics almost as luxuries. But new and scholarly general treatments or textbooks by Catholics on ancient, mediaeval, English and American history would be of great service. It is only in the field of modern European history that our needs have been most admirably supplied.[20] Even more, if I may venture to say so, do we require some first-rate history books for the parochial schools. To write such books, to make them at once simple, sound, balanced and so attractive that the impressions they leave will be lasting—this will, perhaps, be the hardest task of all. But it will also be the task most fruitful in service.

It is in the field of American history that we may hope for the most and the best work. Already we have a fair amount; but some of it is obviously unfitted to carry out the apparent intentions of its authors. This fact was pointed out by one of the most devoted and most eminent of our Catholic historians some twenty years ago:

> Apart from the missionary chapters, many of our Catholic histories read partly like pages of a ledger and partly like catalogues of bishops and priests. We thank them for what they offer us. But, of course, we feel that this is making us acquainted with the skeleton rather than the heart of Christ's Church. We hear nothing of the wonderful charity offered by the older Catholics to their immigrant brethren, nothing of the unifying influence effected by Catholic charity and beneficence, nothing of the

minster Catholic Federation of London in 1928, and a supplementary volume containing the opinions of non-Catholic experts on Catholic criticisms of historical textbooks and readers published in England are of great interest.

[19] Henri Berr, Lucien Febvre and G. G. Coulton in the *Encyc. of the Soc. Sciences*, VII, 360, 370.

[20] By Professor C. J. H. Hayes in his *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, 2 vols., New York, 1933-1936.

state aiding and civilizing influence that makes a Catholic priest and church a substitute for many policemen, nothing of the prejudice-dispelling work of the Catholic citizen, nothing of the help and encouragement given to all forms of the noblest art, nothing of the moral and civil action of the Catholic schools, nothing of the wonderful and blending power of the Church and its benevolent force in all directions.[21]

We have seen some progress in the interval; but I am afraid that at least the latter part of this criticism retains much force today. What a group of English Catholic historians, at present represented especially by Dr. David Mathew [22] and Mrs. F. J. Sheed (better known to most of us as Maisie Ward),[23] has done for the history of the Church in their country has still to be attempted here.

Granted that we have reason to be discontented at the relative meagreness of our output, we must ask what is at fault and what may be possible in correcting it. Knowing the numbers and abilities of the students and teachers of history in our Catholic universities and colleges (for I cannot speak of conditions in religious communities or in rectories), it seems obvious that they must lack incentive to write, or opportunity to write, or both. We well know that in the secular universities and colleges members of the faculties, whether they are in need of stimulus or not, are usually made aware that production is a *sine qua non* of their advancement, and consequently of their academic and financial comfort and security. We know, too, that the teaching loads of the more productive are kept as light as possible; that secretarial and even research aid is frequently supplied; that absences on salary are given, and travel for research subsidised. And, unhappily, we know also that such things are rare in Catholic universities and colleges. We know that the libraries of our institutions of higher learning are generally inadequate for productive work; that teaching schedules are frequently so heavy as to exhaust the instructor's full energies; and that the salaries are customarily too low to allow for travel or the purchase of many books. All things considered, the small aggregate of Catholic production in the writing of history is well accounted for.

[21] Charles G. Herbermann in the *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, II (Oct., 1916), 306.
[22] *Catholicism in England* (London, 1935).
[23] *The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition* (London, 1934).

It seems to me that the remedy, if remedy there is, must lie with the well-to-do Catholic laity. They seem to share in a degree far exceeding even that of Americans in general the feeling that they would rather give their money to put up buildings than for endowments and for books. This is not, of course, unnatural. For a Christian donor it is an especially happy thing to contribute to the erection of a building in which men and women, boys and girls, are taught to know and love and serve their God. But our donors would seem to have forgotten that it is the quality of the teaching in these institutions which really counts; that good teaching comes only from those who possess productive minds; and that the productive instinct soon atrophies when deprived of opportunity for exercise. And as for the idea which I have attempted to suggest by my analogy of the reservoir—the realization that the parochial school is an ultimate reflection of the university—that does not seem as yet to have occurred to them.

You will see that I am thinking still of European history in the parish schools, as a stimulus to loyalty, as supplementary evidence of the divine nature of the Church, and as an aid in planting the seeds of Catholic philosophy in the minds of Catholic boys and girls. You may answer that these children would find European history far too difficult. But in that case they must find American history far too difficult.

Cannot the structure of the Roman Empire be as easily and as graphically portrayed as the complex group of eighteenth century colonies? Are not the wanderings, the conversions and the civilizing of the Teutonic peoples as full of striking incident, of drama, of the picturesque, as the events of our own country's infant years? Is there any picture in our own history which we could plant better in their minds than that of their own European ancestors advancing through the crumbling civilization, the disintegrating and demoralized people, the chaos in what had once been the vast empire of Rome, to find the Catholic clergy and the Catholic churches supplying even then unique centres of social and spiritual service, of learning and of peace? Such pictures could be multiplied in those young Catholic minds, and made more lasting by the delineation of personalities. If George Washington can be a

familiar figure to children, why not also King Alfred or the first Otto or St. Louis? Such figures would seem to them but little more remote, and quite as interesting, as those of our first presidents. And through such scenes and lives they would see Mother Church at work down through the centuries, in all her wisdom, her courage and her beneficence; would see her moving on and on to the times which their parents or grandparents might describe to them. Difficult, you still say? Perhaps, but not too difficult to be worth trying for; not too difficult, I think, for Catholic teachers who can "kindle into their subject," and Catholic writers whose inspiration is the same. And just as enthusiasm now passes down from the higher reaches of Catholic education to the more humble and important levels, I should think that performance of the tasks I have outlined would not only constitute the fulfilment of an obligation to the Church, but might in time assist in bringing to our universities and colleges that help from lay donors which they so greatly need.

You will see that I am taking leave of the office which you so graciously conferred on me by laying before you what seems to me a serious question. Should we, or should we not, do what may lie within our power to see that the study of general history, and particularly of general European history, shall occupy a larger place in Catholic education than it has done hereto? For, though the decision will not be ours to make, some responsibility unquestionably rests on us. It is in this Association that the activities of Catholic historians and Catholic teachers of history have found their principal focus for many years; and it is probably from this Association that information and suggestions would be sought, in case the enlargement of history teaching in our schools and colleges and universities should be deemed advisable. And if we should be privileged to offer some assistance in this way, I think we could regard ourselves as doubly fortunate. The really great privilege would be, of course, to increase our present inadequate service to the Church. But it would also be a pleasant thing to feel that we had helped to justify the faith and work of those who founded this Association, and of those permanent or semi-permanent officers who, like its present secretary, have labored indefatigably to see that it brings forth good fruit.

HERBERT C. F. BELL.

THE HOLY SEE AND THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD *

Seldom had mankind passed through a more critical period than the years following the World War, and among the many conflicts and problems which arose to the foreground in those troubled and ominous days the age-long and painful problem of the reunion of the dissident Churches with the universal Catholic Church took on a new and particularly urgent significance.

The radical changes following the War and the post-war revolutionary movements have finally resulted in a complete transvaluation of the fundamental politico-economic principles of modern society; they have also shattered the most sacred ethical and moral standards of our civilization. As time goes on it becomes more and more evident that the world crisis of which we all are witnesses goes far beyond the question of political or economic reforms and adjustments. Militant radicalism is making its principal attack on something infinitely more basic and profound than any economic or political system. Paradoxical as it may seem, positivistic, irreligious radicalism has acquired in the course of time the character of a pseudo-religion, teaching an enthusiastic and fanatical philosophy of materialism which is rapidly spreading all over the world and undermining the very foundations of Christian culture.

And, as the clouds on the international horizon grow darker and the discord between classes and nations becomes more and more acute, Christians all over the world begin to turn their eyes to the Catholic Church, to the divine *Pax Christi in Regno Christi*, to use the motto of Pope Pius XI, since she alone can bring back to our harassed world peace, harmony and happiness.

The increased interest in the Christian Church among wider circles of modern society as well as the increase of Church activity in social, political and economic fields are in no way limited to

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Catholics alone. The menace facing mankind is threatening the entire world and all Christian denominations are preoccupied with strengthening their ranks and trying to form alliances among themselves in order to meet this common foe. Under these circumstances it is only natural that the problem of various dissenting groups of all denominations is beginning to be viewed with new and peculiar significance. Great efforts are being made to restore the unity that circumstances have broken in the past and, in view of the urgency of the moment, all parties concerned are usually much more tractable and much more inclined to compromise than ever before. Beneficial as it may be, this situation contains, however, the serious danger of fostering purely superficial and formal unions, or, so to speak, *emergency unions* of various Church groups without any deep spiritual significance or sincere communion in faith and charity. It was on this ground, for instance, that the so-called "Pan-Christian" movement, fostered mainly by the various Protestant groups, grew to prominence about ten years ago. The danger of such a deceptive unity, rather political than religious in its nature, was pointed out with admirable clearness and vigor in the Encyclical *Mortalium animos* of January 6, 1928. In it the Supreme Pontiff warns against such ill-considered, rash and formal attempts. He recommends instead mutual charity, forbearance, and prayer as the proper way for the restoration of the unity of Christendom through a voluntary and complete submission of dissenting Churches to the supreme spiritual authority of the Vicar of Christ.

For Catholics this situation renews with an increased force the problem of the union with the dissident Eastern Churches which constitute such a large part of the Christian world as originally united. One must not forget that at the present moment there still remain about 155,000,000 Oriental Christians of various rites: Byzantine, Armenian, Syrian, Chaldean, Malabar, Coptic and Ethiopian that have not yet returned to union with the Catholic Church as has been done by about 9,000,000 Orientals of the same rites who returned at various periods into the fold of the Church.[1]

[1] Attwater, D., *The Catholic Eastern Churches* (Milwaukee, 1935), 279-282.

The present-day attitude of Rome toward the Eastern Churches remains exactly the same as before the separation. The Church by its very definition—One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic—is united by a community of sacraments, doctrine and morals, by its foundation by Christ, and by the common subordination of all branches of the Church to the supreme authority of one head, the Vicar of Christ. This unity, however, in no way implies a uniformity of external forms of worship, church discipline or religious customs in various branches of the Universal Church. The historical circumstances which have broken the outward constitutional unity of the Church have fortunately in a great many cases not gone so far as to destroy the fundamental unity in sacraments, doctrine and morals. This is particularly true as regards the various Eastern dissenters and therefore the reunion of the Eastern Churches could be easily achieved, provided the wall of prejudice and misunderstanding accumulated through the centuries of separation between Western and Eastern Christianity could be overcome by a wide movement inspired by mutual charity and understanding. The task is difficult but not impossible. There are no serious dogmatic differences separating the Eastern Churches from Rome; and there is at the same time a great deal of firm ground upon which the efforts to promote a better understanding and a religious reunion could be based. But above everything, any successful effort in this direction requires charity, forbearance, mutual esteem and a closer acquaintance with the cultural and racial peculiarities of all parties concerned and with their historical background.

The East knows little of the West and does not understand it. The West in its turn knows little of the East and likewise does not understand it sufficiently. Only by study and a concentrated will toward mutual understanding can we hope to break down the wall of ignorance, misinterpretation and distrust which has separated the East from the West; and it is significant to note the marked stress on the necessity of Oriental studies which the Holy Father with untiring energy emphasizes in his public allocutions and official acts. "Catholics," he said, "are sometimes lacking in a right appreciation of their separated brethren, and are even want-

ing in brotherly love, because they do not know enough about them. People do not realize how much faith, goodness and Christianity there is in these bodies now detached from the age-long Catholic truth. Pieces broken from gold-bearing rock themselves bear gold. The ancient Christian bodies of the East keep so venerable a holiness that they deserve not merely respect but complete sympathy." [2] The more East and West learn about each other, the more they will understand and respect their pecularities and the more they will realize how deep and firm is their fundamental religious unity. In the light of this understanding all the differences, rancours and temperamental antipathies will certainly disappear.

As we have said already, the unity of the Church never required a uniformity of external forms of worship or religious customs. Indeed from the very earliest times the Church developed into no less than six distinctly different rites:

1) The Latin rite, now predominant in Europe and America.
2) The Alexandrine rite, developed from the liturgy of St. Mark and dominant in the patriarchate of Alexandria.
3) The Antiochean rite, developed from the liturgy of St. James and dominant in the patriarchate of Antioch.
4) The Byzantine rite, dominant in the patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem and developed from the liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom.
5) The Chaldean rite, developed in Syria and Mesopotamia and later India.
6) The Armenian rite, developed under Syrian and Greek influence and confined to the Armenian areas of Asia Minor.

All these rites fall into many subdivisions, each of them representing a distinct and characteristic type of Christian worship and Church organization peculiar to the respective cultural and ethnical groups. In a broad outline one may say that the Latin rite represents the nations belonging to the Western European culture and uses Latin as the language of the Church. The Alexandrine rite represents the Christian population of Egypt and uses Coptic as its liturgical language. From Egypt this rite penetrated into

[2] Attwater, D., *op. cit.*, 273.

Abyssinia where the ancient Ethiopian language replaced Coptic in Church usage. The Antiochean rite since the beginning has been the rite of the Syrians who use the Syriac language, which is also used by the Chaldeans who represent another Syrian Christian group. The Byzantine rite has developed more widely than any other Oriental rite because it became the religious expression of Byzantine imperialism, and so succeeded in spreading over the entire sphere of Byzantine political and cultural influence, namely, over a great part of the Near East, Eastern Europe, and even over certain regions of Central and Southern Europe. The Armenian rite has been probably the most racially exclusive. It has never been able to spread beyond the purely Armenian areas, being strictly associated with Armenian nationality and the Armenian language and culture.

All the principal rites, at least in their essence, existed as early as the middle of the fifth century; and since the Council of Chalcedon were definitely organized into five patriarchates—Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem—comprising the Universal Church presided over by the Bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, in whom the Eastern patriarchs recognized primacy of jurisdiction and the final court of appeal in doctrinal matters. The differences in rite and customs did not invalidate the unity of the Christian world, and the supremacy of Rome was fully admitted and recognized by both the spiritual and secular authorities in the East as well as in the West. We find this very fully expressed for instance in the attitude of Justinian. In his correspondence with the Holy See the Emperor invariably addressed the Pope as: "Pope," "Pope of Rome," "Apostolic Father," "Pope and Patriarch," applying those titles exclusively to the Bishop of Rome, and called him "Head of all Christian Churches" (*caput omnium sanctarum ecclesiarum*).[3] One of Justinian's Novels defines explicitly the respective positions of the Sees of Rome and Constantinople, pointing out that "the Most Blessed See of the Archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome,

[3] Vasiliev, A., *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, 1928), I, 183; Knecht, A., *Die Religions-Politik Kaiser Justinians* (Würzburg, 1896), 62-65.

ranks second after the Most Holy Apostolic See of the Old Rome." [4]

One may say with justice that the historical factors which finally caused the catastrophe of the separation were rather of a secular than of a religious nature and that they belonged primarily to the general cultural and political background of relations between the West and the East. A great part of these factors might probably be traced even to pre-Christian conditions and especially to the firmly-rooted animosity of the Hellenized Oriental world towards the Latin spirit of the Roman Empire. This latent conflict between the Latin West and the Hellenistic East seemed to break out with new vigor in the Christian World, and it found only too many political and social forces anxious to take advantage of the situation for their immediate aims. It was not a controversy over any essential principle or truth that broke the Christian World into factions and kept them separate from that time on. It was rather the accumulated effect of cultural differentiations stimulated and directed by political ambitions and assisted by a most tragic lack of mutual understanding between the East and the West.

Byzantine imperialism has found its religious expression in the claims of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate to primacy over the Universal Church. This has been the natural counterpart of the Byzantine imperial claim to the glories and political supremacy of the Roman Empire. In the eyes of Constantinople—"The new Rome"—Western Europe was a land of barbarians. The feeling that only in the East had the sacred inheritance of Greece and Rome still survived and that Constantinople as the leader of this ancient civilized world both against the infidels from the East and the barbarians from the West was strengthened by the gradual ruin of the three Eastern patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem by the Arabs, and by their final submission to the spiritual control of Constantinople.

Under these circumstances, frictions and ill feeling between East and West were inevitable, and they finally brought about the open breach which, after several temporary ruptures of communion,

[4] Vasiliev, A., *op. cit.*, 183; Novella 131, (ed. Z. von Lingenthal, II, 267.)

took a definite form in the act of separation of July 16, 1054. The ever-growing distrust of the Oriental Christians of everything coming from the West was, however, rather a slow process and the traditions of a fundamental unity of the Church under the supreme authority of the See of St. Peter survived among those Eastern Churches that were less directly controlled by the Byzantines long after the official breach of 1054.

This breach brought about by the Greek hierarchy and by the militant Byzantine nationalists remained for about two centuries the policy of rather limited political and ecclesiastical groups, whereas the relations between the faithful continued very much as before. While theological controversies were going on, the East and South European nations over which the Constantinopolitan patriarchate claimed ecclesiastical jurisdiction continued their friendly relations with the Holy See and the Western powers. The Russian Church, for instance, upon which so many hopes were vested by Constantinople, kept a very evasive attitude. It was to some Russian city, probably to Kiev, that the papal legates departed after having deposited the excommunication of Michael Cerularius on July 16, 1054, trying apparently to avoid by this detour the necessity of travelling to Rome through the Byzantine territories.[5] A frequent exchange of correspondence and envoys between the Holy See and Kiev continued until the destruction of Russia by the Mongol invasion toward the middle of the thirteenth century; and as O. Balzer, B. Leib, and N. de Baumgarten[6] have amply demonstrated, the marriage alliances of the Russian Rurikids all through the eleventh and twelfth centuries were directed primarily towards the Western and Central European dynasties, whereas the Byzantine marriages of Russian princes and princesses remained rare and had little significance. The history of the pilgrimages of S. Euphrosinia of Polotzk and her sister

[5] Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XVII, 91.

[6] Leib, B., *Rome, Kiev et Byzance* (Paris, 1924); Balzer, O., *Genealogia Piastow* (Krakow, 1895); Baumgarten, N. de. "Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du Xme au XIIme siècle," *Orientalia Christiana*, IX (1927); Pelesz, J., *Geschichte der Union der Ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom*, I, 420.

S. Paraskeva (Praxeda), canonised in Rome by Pope Gregory X, as well as the journey of Abbot Daniel to the Holy Land, in 1112-1115, shows that not only in the twelfth but as late as the first half of the thirteenth century relations between Kievan Russia and the Latin West were not only quite friendly but also quite frequent despite the Cerularian schism. An interesting indication to the same effect can be found in the fact that the Russian Church has accepted and maintained the celebration of the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas from Myra to Bari in 1089 on May 9, as it had been instituted by Pope Urban II, although this holiday was rejected by the Greeks. Close relations existed, likewise, between Rome and the other Eastern Churches and nations on the periphery of the Byzantine sphere of cultural and political influence, such as the Bulgarian, Armenian and Georgian Churches.[7] In Byzantium itself the anti-Roman attitude of Cerularius and of the extreme Byzantine nationalists expressed rather the popular antipathy for the Latin West than any major religious dissention, and we find as late as in the thirteenth century the opinion of Bernard of Clairvaux in his correspondence with Pope Eugene III that " there is a union as far as religious questions are concerned excepting perhaps unimportant questions, but we are separated in love. Both these Churches venerate one God in the Trinity; they have the same creed, the same sacraments and the same priesthood." [8] Nevertheless, some rapprochement with the West became imperative since the rise of the Seljuk Turks, and already in 1073 the Emperor Michael VII Ducas appealed to Pope Gregory VII for help and began reunion negotiations.

In the face of the Turkish invasion threatening from Asia Minor it is quite probable that the restoration of Church unity would have followed a united effort of all Christian powers, Eastern and Western alike, against the common enemy. Rome was untiring in her efforts to restore unity and to organise a common front against the Moslem danger. Popes Gregory VII, Urban II, Paschal II, Hadrian IV, Innocent III, Gregory IX,

[7] Janin, R., *Les Eglises Separées d'Orient* (Paris, 1930), 108-141; Tamarati, M., *L'Eglise Georgienne* (Rome, 1910), 414-474.

[8] Palmieri, *Theologia Dog. Orthodoxa*, I, 681.

Innocent IV, Gregory X and many of their successors up to Eugene IV and Nicholas V, who witnessed the final establishment of the Turks on the ruins of Byzantium, were using every means at their disposal to save the Christian Orient. On their part the long line of Byzantine emperors, Michael VII, Alexius I Comnenus, Alexius III Angelus, John III Vatatzes of Nicea, Michael VIII Palaeologus, John VIII, and finally the unfortunate Constantine XI, the last emperor, worked strenuously toward the restoration of Church unity.

However, the cultural and temperamental differences and above all the unfortunate political circumstances which played such a prominent rôle in originating the schism, remained the main obstacle for its cure in the future. The unfavorable impression produced on the Oriental mind by the Western European knighthood during the Crusades, the destruction of the Byzantine Empire in 1204, the oppressions and pillages by the unruly chivalry, and the ruthless Franco-Venetian regime imposed on the great part of the Christian Near East succeeded in fanning the old antipathy and mistrust of the local population in regard to the West into a deeply rooted hatred of everything Western or associated with the West. Unable to understand the complex political situation or to make a distinction between the sincere efforts of Rome and the callous greed and ambitions of the secular Western powers and of the unruly knighthood, the harassed and desperate Oriental Christians became more and more accustomed to consider the Holy See not as the head of the Universal Church but rather as the centre of the Western Christianity only and the symbol of the West in general. Thus gradually the violent anti-Roman attitude, limited heretofore mostly to the Constantinopolitan hierarchy and nationalist political circles, acquired the character of a deeply-set popular feeling permeating the large masses of the population both in Greece and in the Levant.

Two major attempts to heal the breach through a religious understanding almost succeeded: at the Councils of Lyons in 1274 and Ferrara-Florence in 1438-39. But neither could really be put in effect on account of the opposition of the Greek clergy and the nationalistic fanaticism of the Byzantine masses. With the

Turks pressing at the very gate of Constantinople they preferred "the turban of the Turk to the hat of the Latin," following the famous phrase of Senator Mesazon as reported by Ducas.[9]

In these conflicts of a secular rather than a religious nature, taking their origin in historical background, racial and temperamental divergences and psychological incompatibility, the real causes of the estrangement between the Christian East and the Universal Church are to be found. It is likewise in this domain that we encounter the principal obstacles to reunion. Taking advantage of this regrettable situation the leading political factors in Eastern Europe and the Near East were able for long centuries to oppose successfully all reunion efforts. Such were Russia with its profoundly Erastian political philosophy in which claims to the Byzantine imperial succession were blended with a peculiar Pan-Slav mysticism and the Pan-Hellenic nationalist movement stimulated and controlled primarily by the wealthy Greek middle class and the Greek clergy of the Ottoman Empire, where the Constantinopolitan patriarchate had acquired under the Turkish regime the right of an officially recognised patronage and control over the greater part of the Christian population of the Near East without distinction of race or nationality. As time went on, the regrettable association of the religious cause with the purely secular issues and aspirations grew ever deeper and offered a fertile ground for various political intrigues—an unfortunate situation by which the Russian Pan-Slavism, the Hapsburgian *divide et impera* policy and the Pan-Hellenist movement in the Near East largely profited for their immediate political aims.

Under those circumstances one had to arm oneself with patience and continue to work toward a restoration of the unity of Christendom slowly, steadily, and with a firm hope that the holy cause must win ultimately in spite of all temporary and earthly difficulties. Some results have been achieved in the course of time as various groups of Eastern Christians returned to the fold of the Church, especially since the Western world learned to understand better the Orientals and their psychology. The wise legislation of Popes

[9] Ducas, XXXVII, *Patr. Gr.*, v. 157, col. 1072. "Κρειττότερόν ἐστιν ἰδέναι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει φακιόλιον βασιλεῶν Τούρκων ἢ καλύπτραν λατινικήν."

Benedict XIV, Pius IX and Leo XIII, by guaranteeing to the Eastern Christians due respect and maintenance of their ancient rites, created a still more favorable atmosphere for reunion. The long period of controversies and negotiations had, besides, a very important positive effect inasmuch as these helped to clear up a great many dubious points and showed manifestly that no serious differences in matters of doctrine separated the Churches, in spite of all the violence of the official breach.

The World War and the post-war settlements changed completely the situation in the East and deprived the most powerful and militant of the Oriental Churches of their principal political support. The Russian Empire has disappeared completely as a Christian power. The breakdown of the Ottoman Empire reduced to a minimum the sphere of influence of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate and of the Phanar. The *divide et impera* policy of Austria among the Central European and Balkan Slavs vanished with the Hapsburgs. On the other hand direct contacts with various dissenting Church groups became immensely facilitated through the new political status of the majority of Near Eastern and Eastern European territories. Even the cultural and temperamental differences can hardly exercise in our days the same influence as in years gone by. The unification of social and economic conditions all over the world in the framework of modern civilisation has greatly levelled these cultural differences especially among the educated classes.

It is a blessing of Providence that in this significant and eventful post-war period the keys of St. Peter are held by a pontiff so keenly interested and so eminently competent in the Eastern problems as the now gloriously reigning Pope Pius XI.

Already before his election to the Chair of St. Peter the Holy Father, as Apostolic Nuncio to Poland in the years 1918-1921, had ample opportunity of witnessing the effects of post-war settlements in Eastern Europe and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the complicated religious situation in those countries where the religious, national and social issues are so painfully interlocked and entangled. Poland at all times has been an extremely important centre of unionistic efforts, being the largest and the

most active Catholic power in Eastern Europe and the historical bulwark of Catholicism facing Greek Orthodox Russia. Besides, Poland in those years of restoration of her independence was in itself a most interesting ground for observation inasmuch as it contained within its own domains numerous ethnical groups belonging to various Oriental rites, some of them Catholic and others dissenters, and the general atmosphere of the country was tense with efforts to find a satisfactory adjustment between those groups and the majority of the population belonging to the Latin rite. Monsignor Ratti had thus the opportunity of studying the conflicts between the Eastern and Western mentalities and temperaments and to investigate personally methods and possibilities of a reunion. No doubt the experience of those years influenced greatly the acts of the pontiff after his accession to the throne in 1922.

Indeed, as far as the Eastern Churches are concerned, the fifteen years of the present pontificate can be considered with justice as the period of the most thorough and far-going realization of the unionistic hopes and efforts of the Church for the last two centuries since the epoch-making acts of Popes Benedict XIV, Pius IX and Leo XIII definitely disapproved of all tendencies towards a "Latinization" of Oriental Christians and guaranteed to them a full recognition of their forms of worship.[10] The attitude of good will, profound respect and truly paternal care toward the Oriental Churches which is such an outstanding characteristic of the pontificate of Pius XI certainly has as its foundation a firmly-established tradition developed by his predecessors; but never before have these general principles been formulated with so much vigour and clearness or expressed in such a systematic program of activity. And, last but not least, never before has so much attention and effort been directed toward the study and understanding of the general background of the Oriental dissension and the building of a spiritual and intellectual rapprochement between the West and the East.

[10] Pope Benedict XIV: bull *Etsi Pastoralis* of 1742, decree *Demandatum Caelitus* of 1743 and encyclical *Allatae Sunt* of 1755; Pope Pius IX: encyclical *In Suprema* of 1848; Pope Leo XIII: *Orientalium Dignitas* of 1894.

Among the numerous acts of the Holy Father referring to the Oriental problem of particular significance are the following three encyclicals: *Ecclesiam Dei* of November 12, 1923, *Mortalium Animos* of January 6, 1928, and *Rerum Orientalium* of September 8, 1928.

The Encyclical *Ecclesiam Dei*, published on the three-hundredth anniversary of the martyrdom of Saint Josaphat Kuncevicz, archbishop of Polotzk of the Oriental rite, opens with a powerful assertion of the general views of the pontiff on the problem of Church reunion. It gives a short outline of the history of the schism and underlines the constant efforts of the popes to restore the Oriental dissenters to the fold of the Mother Church. The eulogy of the deeds and martyrdom of Saint Josaphat is followed by an appeal to both the schismatics and the Catholics. "We invite most sincerely," says the pontiff, "the schismatics to join with us in this unity of the Church, and we desire also that all the faithful, following the teachings and in the footsteps of Saint Josaphat, may strive, each according to his ability, to cooperate with us, toward the achievement of this purpose. May all realize too that unity is not so much prompted by discussions or by other artificial means as by the example of a holy life and by good works, especially those dictated by charity towards our Slav brethren and all other Easterners." [11] Practical suggestions are then made to facilitate the achievement of Church reunion. "To achieve this end," the Pope writes, "it is necessary on the one hand for the schismatic Easterners to lay aside their ancient prejudices and to see and really to know the true life of the Church, not attributing to the Roman Church the faults of mere individuals, faults which She is the first to condemn and seeks well to correct; so the Latins on their side, must strive to understand better and more profoundly the history and customs of the Easterners. It was because of an intimate knowledge of these facts that the Apostolate of Saint Josaphat turned out so successful." [12]

This appeal to the schismatics and the Catholics in itself con-

[11] Ryan, James H., *Encyclicals of Pius XI* (St. Louis, 1927), 110.
[12] *Ibid.*, 110-111.

tains the entire program of a mutual understanding and rapprochement on the ground of Christian charity and of a better knowledge and appreciation of each other through study. The latter is emphasised in the next passage of the same encyclical: "It was the development of this purpose that also influenced us to promote, in as far as we possibly could, the welfare of the Pontifical Oriental Institute which was founded by our lately deceased predecessor, Benedict XV. We are convinced that from the correct knowledge of the facts there will come a just appreciation of men and at the same time that upright spirit of good will which, when joined with love for Christ, cannot but greatly assist God in aiding in the achievement of religious unity." [13] The encyclical closes with a call upon all the faithful without distinction of rites to pray for Church union.

The insistence on the development of studies and on stimulation of intellectual interest in Oriental Christianity, on as broad a basis as possible, is further developed in the encyclical *Rerum Orientalium*, with its thorough discussion of the history of the Oriental Institute at Rome. His Holiness says:

> Indeed it should not be too difficult for each theological seminary to have one professor who, together with the study of history or liturgy or Canon law, may at the same time explain at least the elements of those things which concern the near East. In this way not a little profit may be expected for the Church, since from young priests' consciousness of Eastern doctrines and rites profit will accrue not only to Orientals but also to the Western clergy who will thus naturally understand Catholic theology and Latin discipline. They may, therefore, be more adequately excited to a warmer love for the true Bride of Christ whose bewitching beauty in the diversity of her various rites they would be enabled to see more clearly and impressively.[14]

Acting in the same spirit Pope Pius XI addressed a letter in 1924 to Dom Fidelis de Stotzingen, Abbot Primate of the Benedictines, pointing out the special qualifications that the Benedictines possess for work on the problem of reunion and asking that one abbey in every Benedictine congregation should be especially concerned with Eastern affairs and that the monks en-

[13] *Ibid.*, 111.

[14] Attwater, D., *op. cit.*, 273.

trusted with this work be selected from among "carefully chosen men who will fit themselves for the work of reunion by special study of the languages, history, customs, mentality and especially the theology and liturgy of the Eastern peoples." [15]

The organization of such spiritual and intellectual centres of reunion activity is not an easy task since it requires an exceptionally well-prepared staff and considerable resources. Nevertheless, the work is steadily progressing, and we have already several Benedictine centres, such as the Priory Amay-sur-Meuse in Belgium and Saint Procopius Abbey at Lisle, Illinois, in the United States.

This stress on a spiritual and intellectual rapprochement between the East and the West through study and charity has not failed to stimulate considerably the academic and scientific activities associated with the Oriental problems. Regular studies of Oriental subjects are visibly gaining in popularity at all principal Catholic centres of learning, headed by several major scientific institutions making Oriental studies their specialty, such as the Pontifical Oriental Institute and the Oriental Colleges in Rome: Armenian, Greek, Ethiopian, Ruthenian, Maronite and Russian. Of those the Russian College of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus was established as recently as 1929 and its direction is entrusted at present to the Rev. P. de Regis, S. J. In this country, besides the steady development of Oriental and Eastern European studies at the leading secular universities such as Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Chicago and others, great attention is paid to the development of those fields at the Catholic University of America in Washington where, in addition to the already existing scientific work in Oriental and Patristic literature a study of Byzantine history and of Slavic languages, history, and literatures were introduced within the last few years. At the same time at Georgetown University the study of contemporary Russian problems is being carried out under the guidance of an eminent authority, the Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S. J.

The great calamities that befell the Christian Orient as a result of the War and of the post-war disasters were no doubt greatly

[15] *Ibid.*, 271.

alleviated by the untiring efforts of the Church to organize a proper relief and assistance. Millions of people of all creeds and denominations were saved from ruin, sickness and starvation through the generosity of the Catholic benefactors and the self-sacrificing work of relief organizations supported and directed by the Church. One of the most outstanding examples of such a wide-scale humanitarian activity was the work of the Papal Relief Mission in Soviet Russia in the years 1922-24 directed by the Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S. J. Only those who have seen at close quarters the horrors of the Russian conditions in those years can appreciate all the significance of the work of the Papal Relief Mission.

The growing interest in the Christian Orient is furthermore abundantly manifested by the extraordinary advance in the number of researches and publications in this domain. The bibliographical lists of works on those subjects include at present thousands of items, and there is an acutely felt necessity of some more or less exhaustive bibliographical treatise on the subject, in addition to the very serviceable but of course incomplete bibliographies given in the majority of standard works such as those by D. Attwater, A. Fortescue, R. Janin, etc.,[16] and in the periodicals. Among the periodicals one must point out particularly the *Echos d'Orient* (Paris, Maison de la Bonne Presse, published by the Assumptionist Fathers); *Irenicon* (Prieuré d'Amay-sur-Meuse, Belgium), published by the Benedictines; as well as *Pax* and the *Eastern Churches Quarterly* (Prinknash Priory, Glouchester, England), *Russie et Chrétienté* (Centre Dominicain d'Études, Lille, France), published by the Dominican Fathers; and the *Bulletin Catholique* published in Kharbin, Manchuria; and among periodicals published in the United States, *The Chrysostom* (Granville, N. Y.) and *The Voice of the Church* (St. Procopius Abbey, Lisle, Ill.). Numerous articles, notes and reviews on Oriental subjects are appearing in the pages of the Catholic press both in the United States and abroad, and so

[16] Attwater, D., *The Catholic Eastern Churches*, Milwaukee, 1935; Fortescue, A., *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, London, 1929; Janin, R., *Les Eglises Orientales et les Rites Orientaux*, Paris, 1926.

Oriental Christianity gradually ceases to be a far distant and "exotic" domain interesting and known only to scholars and specialists. At the same time more profound and special studies of Oriental problems are greatly stimulated and encouraged by the establishment of such monumental publications as the *Orientalia Christiana*, reorganized since January, 1935, into *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* and *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (Rome, Pontifical Oriental Institute) which have enriched the number of periodicals dedicated to the study of the Christian Orient.

Furthermore, the Holy See, anxious to bring more clarity and system in the Eastern problem, instituted toward the end of 1929 a special commission for study preparatory to a codification of Oriental Church law, entrusting the guidance of its works to such outstanding canonists as the late Cardinal Gasparri and Archbishop Cicognani—the present Apostolic Delegate to the United States—assisted by a large group of specialists and experts. Finally, the elevation to the rank of cardinals of Ignatius Tappouni, Syrian Patriarch of Antioch in 1935, and Msgr. Mercati and Msgr. Tisserand, two outstanding Latin prelates of great merits and prestige with the Christian Orient, in 1936, was accepted by the East with profound gratitude and joy as one more proof of paternal care and interest on the part of the Holy Father. Cardinal Tisserand was appointed, besides, Secretary of the Oriental Congregation, a post left vacant by the death of Cardinal Sincero.

Even a superficial survey of the situation can not fail to gladden the heart of anyone to whom the cause of reunion is dear. But certainly one must be careful to observe all possible prudence and circumspection in order that there be no compromise in so sacred a cause by some rash or awkward movement. The political obstacles to reunion have no doubt greatly diminished in our days and there is a steadily growing intellectual and spiritual rapprochement especially noticeable among the educated classes of Western and Eastern society. It will, however, take a long time and require patient and tireless effort to overcome the obstacles fully, particularly since in the course of history those psychological, temperamental and traditional differences between the West and the

East have been only too often intensified and developed under the influence of the Protestant rationalism spreading among Oriental Christians.[17] It is to be hoped also that the secular authorities of those countries where East and West meet will take a liberal and enlightened attitude toward the religious problems and cease to use the religious issues as tools of narrow nationalist policy.

The encyclical *Mortalium Animos* of January 6, 1928, warned the faithful expressly against all attempts at healing the wounds of the Church by superficial "emergency" alliances or "unions of action", dictated merely by a feeling of danger menacing religion in our days of positivism and anti-religious movements, and not based on any deeper union of love and faith. Plans of such a "pseudo-unity" were greatly advertised and sponsored by various Protestant denominations and even found a certain response among some of the Eastern Churches. Since the second half of the nineteenth century the Church of England has been carrying on negotiations with the Russian Orthodox concerning a possible Russian Orthodox-Anglican union. In the post-war period some of the Eastern Churches have even sent their representatives to the conferences of Stockholm in 1925 and of Lambeth in 1927; but the very idea of such a superficial and artificial "Pan-Christian Movement" was decidedly condemned by the Supreme Pontiff. "There can be no doubt," he said in the above-mentioned encyclical, "that if those who live separated from this Apostolic See pray humbly for the light of Heaven, they will recognize the only true Church of Jesus Christ and will at last come to join themselves with us by the ties of perfect charity." [18]

If the reunion of the Oriental Christians with the Universal Church finally becomes a reality, it will be a union of charity, of faith and of conviction, not merely a political alliance dictated by calculation and expediency and not on the basis of earthly considerations and danger of some common foe. When the negotiations concerning a possible Anglican-Russian Orthodox union were initiated in 1888, through the mediation of John

[17] LaFarge, Rev. John, S. J., "Rome and the Oriental Separatists," *The Chrysostom*, III, nr. 4 (April, 1937).

[18] Attwater, D., *op. cit.*, 272.

Birkbeck, the well known Anglican Church politician and writer of the last century, the letters exchanged between Archbishop Benson of Canterbury and Plato, Metropolitan of Kiev and Presiding Member of the Russian Orthodox Synod, showed very clearly that in spite of all efforts to find some common ground between the two Church bodies the only real basis that could be found for a union between Russian Orthodoxy and Anglicanism was their common animosity to the Holy See. ". . . The Russian and the Anglican Churches have common foes. Alike we have to guard our independence against that Papal aggressiveness which claims to subordinate all the Churches of Christ to the See of Rome," wrote Archbishop Benson. "I entirely agree with you that the Russian and English Churches have common foes of which you speak in your letter to me and that we ought together with you contend against them, mutually encouraging and supporting one another," answered Metropolitan Plato.[19]

Certainly it is not for this sort of union that we all hope and pray, together with the Supreme Pontiff, when we say: *And there shall be one fold and one shepherd—Et fiet unum ovile et unus pastor* (John, x, 16).

May it not be that such a group as ours, the American Catholic Historical Association, far removed as it is from close contact with the question of reunion, will be able through these annual sessions to assist in spreading a mutual understanding of the East and the West and so collaborate in the greatest ideal of contemporary times—the amalgamation of the Christian world? *Faxit Deus!*

Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor.

[19] Riley, A., editor, *Birkbeck and the Russian Church* (London, 1927), 2, 12.

TWO REVOLUTIONARY CHAPLAINS IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOY (1780-1784)

The *Acts* of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts of 1780 and 1781 carry the names of two Catholic missionaries who were employed by that government to minister to the Catholic Indians of Maine during those years. Our Catholic historians have completely overlooked these two priests who were commissioned to give spiritual aid to the Catholic Indians who sided with the Americans. Considerations of trade induced the British government to draw away the Catholic Indians of Maine and Nova Scotia from the influence of their former French allies of Canada. In 1760 treaties of peace were concluded between the British government and the different Indian tribes of Maine and eastern Canada.[1]

The death of Abbé Maillard in August of 1762 left these Catholic Indians without the ministrations of a priest for six years. Repeatedly, the Catholic Indians appealed to the governors of Massachusetts and Nova Scotia to send them a priest.[2] Finally in 1768, the governor of Canada dispatched the Abbé Baillie who was to minister to them for four years.[3] In May, 1772, the Abbé returned to Quebec never to labor again with his Indian flock in eastern Canada. Happily, a few months later another priest came to take his place, so that the Catholic Indians did not any longer insist on the stipulations made with the British authorities in regard to the provision and maintenance of a priest in their territory.

It was in summer of 1772, that the Rev. James McDonald, a Scottish priest, arrived at Cape Breton with a great number of

[1] *Report on the Canadian Archives for 1894* (Ottawa, 1895), 222.

[2] *Ibid.*, 237, 239-240, 255-257, 264, 268, 270-272; *Documentary History of the State of Maine: Collections of Maine Historical Society*, XIII (Portland, Me., 1909), 365-366, 368-369; *Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society*, X (Boston, 1809), 115-116.

[3] *Report: 1894*, 288, 291-292, 295, 298, 303-304, 320-322; Gosselin, A. *L'Église du Canada après la Conquête*, I (Quebec, 1916), 311-313.

[4] *Report: 1894*, 320.

Catholic Scotch Highlanders and was to minister to his compatriots as well as to the French Acadians and Indians during thirteen years. In the fall of 1773, the Bishop of Quebec sent the Abbé Joseph Maturin Bourg to Tracadièche, now Carleton, P. Q., with commission to care for the French and Indians of Gaspé, Chaleur Bay, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Maine. These two missionaries were to remain the solitary priests in eastern Canada up to 1784.[5]

Yet on the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the Catholic Indians of Maine were deprived of the ministration of priests owing to their loyalty to the American cause. Bishop Briand of Quebec forbade all priests to administer the sacraments to abettors of the American War of Independence. In this plight the Catholic Indians of Maine appealed to the Provincial Council of Massachusetts to obtain a priest for them. Their request, however, could only be granted as late as the year 1779, when Father de la Motte was sent to them and labored among them for three months (May to July).[6] Then again the Indians of Maine were deprived of spiritual aid for more than fifteen months, when the Provincial Council of Massachusetts was fortunate in engaging two Catholic missionaries for the service among these Catholic allies. One of them was the Capuchin Father Frederick de Bourges, and the other, the Recollect Father Juniper Berthiaume. The latter labored among the Penobscots and the former among the Passamaquoddies.

1. Father Frederick de Bourges, O. M. Cap. (1780-1782).

Col. John Allan, the American superintendent of the Catholic Indians of eastern Maine, wrote on October 20, 1779, from

[5] Gosselin, *op. cit.*, 317-320; Melançon, Arthur, *Vie de l'Abbé Bourg* (Rimouski, 1921), 18, 28, 33-46, 53-55, 59-60.

[6] *Report: 1894*, 369; Gosselin, *op. cit.*, II (Quebec, 1917), 3, 25; Force, Peter, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, III, coll. 1465-1466, *Fifth Series*, I, coll. 838-850, 1223; Colonial Record Office, London, *Nova Scotia. Colonial Corresp. N. S.*, XIII, 203, 231, 236, Kidder, Frederick, *Military Operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution* (Albany, 1867), 55, 251, 263, 265, 268, 279; Shea, *Hist. of Cath. Church, etc.*, II, 154, 179-182; Griffin, *Catholics and American Revolution*, II (Ridley Park, Pa., 1909), 98, 118.

Machias, Me., that the return of Father de la Motte had "Greatly deceived him in his Expectations" and as a result had "not met with such Difficulty previous to this Summer."[7] Michael Franklin, the British Indian superintendent operating on the St. John's River, tells us the reason. Writing from Halifax on September 8, 1779, he says

> the Indians of the River St. John have resisted every Temptation to join with the Rebell Forces and have quietly Waited the arrival of my Agent and Mr. Bourg the Priest who were received by them with open Arms, and I have reason to believe the Defeat of the Rebells at Penobscot will enable me to draw off even those on our Frontiers who have hitherto Acted as Ennemys.[8]

The expectations of Franklin were never realized owing to the zeal of Col. Allan and the coöperation of the Catholic missionaries. On November 15, 1779, Col. Allan wrote to the Board of War at Boston

> The virtuous Conduct of those Savages requires the Generosity of the States, and for Fear of their Drawing off from us, Commands the exertions of Government to give an immediate ear to the Care of them.[9]

Thereupon, the Committee of both Houses of the Massachusetts legislature reported that it was of very great importance to retain those Catholic Indians in the interest of the States and supplies were sent to them.[10] This is also stressed by Alexander Campbell, agent for Col. Allan, in a letter to the General Court of Massachusetts, dated January 20, 1780:

> There is a strong Fort at Machias, Me. supported by Indians which Col. Allan has collected near the River. How long it will be in his power to detain them, is very uncertain, as he cannot Supply them with Bread, and many other Necessarys which they are in want of. The defense of that part of the Country is depending on the Faith of the Savages, opposed to Britain. What may not be Expected, but that the whole must soon fall an easy Prey to our Enemies.[11]

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[7] Kidder, *op. cit.*, 270.

[8] *Colonial Corresp. N. S.*, 236.

[9] Kidder, *op. cit.*, 272.

[10] *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, XVIII (1914), 24-25.

[11] *Collections of Maine Historical Society, op. cit.*, 71-72. Cited as *Collections etc.*

In the spring of 1780, the British wanted to cut masts for their ships on the St. John's River and tried very hard to win the Catholic Indians in order to have free access to that river. Abbé Bourg was used as a bait, as was done several times before, to make them pliable and to induce them to deliver up the treaty made with the Americans. Col. Allan wrote on May 28, 1780, to the President of the Council of Massachusetts:

> Mr. Franklin [British Indian Superintendent] and the Priest is Expected every hour on St. John's River where Numbers of Indians were collecting to Meet the Priest and Franklin. The Great Advantage the Britons have by the Priest and the Large and Good Supplys put me in the Greatest difficulty how to act. To Satisfy the Indians a little I have wrote Mr. Burk [*sic*] the Priest requesting him to Come here [Passamaquody River], have pledged my Honour, he shall not be Molested, Till I have further Orders, when he shall be Convey'd Back to St. Johns. I should be glad to have Advice Upon this.[12]

Abbé Bourg did not heed this invitation and created thereby the grave difficulties of Col. Allan.

James Avery, Col. Allan's secretary, wrote on June 4, 1780, that Allan was "pursuing every measure in his Power to Retain the Indians in the American Interest and prevent their Going to St. Johns, the Enemy making them such large Offers and Col. Allan nothing to give them, they seem Tyred of the Service and it will be very difficult to keep them." [13] Abbé Bourg sent a message to the Indians in charge of Col. Allan on May 31, 1780, desiring them to see him on the St. John's River at a fort erected about seventy miles up the river, "if they wanted anything done in the Church way." Almost all of them set off on June third but soon returned having been refused the sacraments for not severing their connections with the Americans.[14]

Two months later, Col. Allan obtained a chaplain of the French navy to minister to them for well-nigh a year. When the French

[12] *Ibid.*, 283-284. The family pronounced the name as Burk. Cf. Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire Général du Canada* (Ottawa, 1931), I, 228.

[13] *Ibid.*, 292.

[14] Kidder, *op. cit.*, 279-281; *Collections etc.*, 335-340, 345-347, 376-377; Griffin, *op. cit.*, 118; Shea, *op. cit.*, 182.

fleet had arrived at Newport, R. I., Avery applied to Admiral de Ternay (August 16 or 17, 1780) for a priest "to go to Machias for the Indians." This request was granted a few days later. On August 23, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts wrote a letter to the Indians under Col. Allan telling them

> Your good, and ancient Fathers the French, our great, good, and illustrious Allies hearing of the destitute Situation you were in upon Account of a Reverend Father to take Care of your Souls, have in their Great Goodness sent one, to whom you may tell your Faults, and he will hear you, and will administer the Sacraments of his Order in your own Way; his stay will be but short as he cannot be spared from those he came with, and nothing but the Love they bear you could have prevailed on our good Allies to send the Reverend Father to you.[15]

On the same day the Consul of France, de Valnais, wrote from Boston to the same Indians announcing the news that "Louis XVI having heard that you were in want of a priest, sends you one. His stay among you will be short." [16]

Martin I. J. Griffin writes that the "name of this priest does not appear," [17] and yet it was printed already as early as the year 1781 in the *Resolves* of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Shea thought that this priest was "evidently La Motte." [18] Griffin furthermore remarks that "the tribe to which he may have ministered is not known." [19] Yet the letter of the French consul which he prints on the next page states expressly that he would minister to "the different tribes commanded by John Allan."

Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French army, records in his *Journal* [20] under date of August 29, 1787, that "some Catholic savages had asked for a priest; we sent them a *Capuchin* who was chaplain of one of the vessels." [21] But this French priest was no other than the Capuchin Father Frederick de Bourges who had come over in de Ternay's fleet as chaplain on the *Jason*. Besides Father Frederick that vessel carried two other chaplains, the

[15] Kidder, *op. cit.*, 286; *Collections etc.*, 377; Griffin, *op. cit.*, 114-115, 121.
[16] Griffin, *op. cit.*, 123.
[17] *Ibid.*, 121.
[18] Shea, II, 182, note 1.
[19] Griffin, II, 121.
[20] Translated from the French by Will Duane and edited by Thomas Balch (Albany, New York, 1876), 63.
[21] Griffin, II, 124.

Irish priest Abbé Dowd and the Irish Capuchin Maurice, better known as Charles Whelan, who was to become at a later period the first resident priest of New York.[22]

On August 23, Father Frederick was already in Boston on his way to Maine and under that date addressed a petition to the Council of the State of Massachusetts wherein he states that

> the Colonell Allen having asked one Priest for the Savages of Machias and of the Countries around, and the General Heath having demanded him to [*sic*] ours General & Admiral at Rhode Island, they have permitted me to go to Machias what I made willingly, in order to be as useful to the Christian Religion & to the advantage of my King and of his Allies as I could; the said Frederic interests your Justice to send him to his Mission as quick as you coud and to furnish him all Things necessary for his voyage, for attracting the Savages and specially for the Exercise of his ministery's offices. He also intreats you to grant to him Gideon De Lesdernier who has conducted him here [they left Rhode Island on the August 18] for his interpret, as well to give to the said De Lesdernier a reward for his past pains and for his future employment. This Gentleman deserves that you make something for him. His love for the cause of United States induced him to lev the New Scotia & so he lost all his Goods, and he has one of his Sons Lieutenant at Machias to the service of this State.[23]

This petition was read the following day in the Council Chamber and it was "ordered that Gideon de Lesdernier is permitted to Attend the Chaplain as an Interpret upon his Mission among the Different Tribes under Col. Allan and is directed to apply to the General Court for a Compensation for his Said Services."[24] On the same day the Council ordered to furnish for the use of the French priest bound to Machias 14 pd. coffee, 28 pd. sugar, 25 loves of bread, 20 pd. flour, 30 pd. salt pork, 20 pd. fresh meat, 6 pd. butter, 2 gallons rum and 15 gallons wine "for his use and for the purpose of the Ceremonies in the business of his order." These were articles that could not be procured at the truckhouse of Machias. Since Allan's department was a continental office, the expenses were charged to the Continental Account.[25] Prob-

[22] *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine* (Washington, D. C., 1905), 230. Cf. Leo R. Ryan, *Old St. Peters* (New York, United States Catholic Historical Society *Monograph Series*, xv, 1935), 36-60.

[23] *Collections etc.*, 378-379. [24] *Ibid.*, 379, 417. [25] *Ibid.*, 381.

ably the truckhouse at Machias which was furnished by the State of Massachusetts supplied the priest also with some articles.

Yet the missionary was detained in Boston for many weeks. On September 14, Father Frederick addressed a second petition to the Council of Massachusetts Bay setting forth that

> he came here in order to go as quick as possible to Machias, and that he had the promise from the General Heath to be only during a week here. But he has been already almost a month in expecting every day, and he is in an entire inaction and inutility to this State and to his King. He therefore intreats your Justice to give your orders that he set out directly and he also prays you give one fixed pay to his Interpret Gideon de Lesdernier from the 18th August of this year 1780, which is day from which they are departed from Rhode's Island.[26]

The petition was read and sent down the same day with an order of Council respecting Gideon de Lesdernier.

It is only on September 23 that Avery reports "that the Vessell bound to Machias in which the Priest and a Quantity of stores goes, is now ready to Sail, there being several Passengers on board." He had received for them "ten fire Arms with Ammunition Sufficient for the Defence of the Vessell bound to Machias against any of the Enemys Small Craft out of Bagaduce [on the Penobscot], said Arms to be delivered to the Commanding Officer at Machias for the Use of the Troops there and Said Arms & Ammunition to be charged to the Account of the United States."[27] These fire arms were intended for the French noblemen who accompanied the priest and carried rosaries, medals and other religious articles sent by General Rochambeau for distribution among the Indians.[28]

Further delays kept the missionary in Boston for some weeks longer. On November 21, 1780, Father Frederick had not yet reached Machias. On that day Col. Allan wrote from Machias a long letter acquainting the General Court of Massachusetts that he keeps the Indians at Passamaquoddy, about thirty miles east of Machias, which is

> the only Adjacent place for the Indians to Hunt. The Steps taken by the

[26] *Ibid.*, 416-417.

[27] *Ibid.*, 434-435.

[28] *Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes, 1894*, 425.

Britons the past Summer has Occasioned much Confusion Amoung them & Made them so unsteady that if a proper Attack had been made by the Enemy, the Country Must without Doubt, fell into their Hands. An Express Came to Passamaquody from a Priest, with all the Pomp & Majesty necessary to Excite the Indians: their Seal and Begotry was such that it got the Better, and all I coud Argue or Say, far different than I was before Accustomed to, they Gave me a Positive Answer they Must go & see the Priest. It Appears they have not Negociated anything with the Britons, nor do I Think any woud joine. But by drawing them off Leaves the Country Open, Gives Great Encouragement to the Enemy as the Indians were their only Dread before.[29]

This refers to the incident with Abbé Bourg of June 1780, mentioned above.

On the British side Franklin recounts his success with the Catholic Indians of New Brunswick in a letter written from Halifax to the Secretary of State (Germain) on November 21, 1780. The Indians were very quiet since the meeting of June 27 (at Pow-wow on the St. John River, where Abbé Bourg used his influence in favor of the English),[30] when 300 warriors with 600 women and children were assembled and the Indians severed their connections with the Americans and returned from Machias. Franklin continues, however, that very recently a French priest arrived at Machias from Rhode Island accompanied by young noblemen from France who carried rosaries, medals and other religious articles which the French general sent them. He expresses then his fears in regard to the machinations of the Americans then to be expected.[31] Accordingly Father Frederick arrived at Machias only about the middle of November; [32] it took him three full months to go from Rhode Island to Machias. By that time Father Frederick knew that his residence among the Indians must be a prolonged one, since the second French fleet was detained in France and no action could take place in the meanwhile. The noblemen who accompanied Father Frederick were

[29] *Collections etc.*, XIX (Portland, Me., 1914), 26, 28, 29.

[30] *Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes, 1894*, 425.

[31] Melançon, *op. cit.*, 101.

[32] He was at Machias on November 14th (Letter of Allan, Jan. 26, 1781), *Collections etc.*, XIX, 105.

evidently volunteers who were their own masters; every larger French warship carried a number of such friends of America.

Allan describes the reception of the missionary by the Indians in a letter dated January 26, 1781, saying,

The 14th of November Six Canoes arrived [at Machias] from St. Johns with those I sent Express and Several others from the Neighbouring Lakes, being anxious about seeing a Priest. We immediately met in Conference but the Indians [were] so elated with the Sight of a Priest & other Agreeable Intelligence Mix'd with Intoxication, Little coud be done at that Time. Agreed to Meet Them at Passamaquody to fix upon a place for an Incampment so to have a General Meeting at Christmas. The 24th November Went [from Machias] to Passamaquody in Company with the Priest. After seeing them all. Incampt and a Small House built for the Business of the Winter I returned to Machias the 9th of December.[33]

On December 15, 1780, Allan wrote from Machias:

I returned a few day ago from my Indian Bout. I accomplished my business with the St. Johns Indians (who went of Last Summer) and others to my sanguine wishes. *The Rev. Father which has come is Extremely well Calculated, gives the Indians great Satisfaction.* We Both [will] return in Six days about half way to St. Johns for a General Conference of Deputys from Each Tribe & to keep Christmas which is a peculiar Festival, But to You I go in a manner Intirely Incompatable with the Nature of my Business.[34]

"On the 20th December," Allan continues in his letter of January 26 1781,

Returned to Passamaquody where I found Deputys from St. Johns & Messages from those Belonging on the Confines of Canada & other Villages, the severity of the Season and the Necessity of Keeping at Home to procure Provisions prevented Many from Coming. The 3rd of January we mett on Business. The Britons Conduct this Fall Amoung the Indians has sett their Minds wavering. Those on St. Johns have received Cloathing for their Whole Famelys, Arm & Ammunition, on Condition not to have Any Connection with the States. Their Going to St. Johns Last Summer, tho they say it was for to see a Priest, it was as Much to Gete Supplys, which they were in Great Want of in that Time. The Indians made a Declaration that their Zeal, affection & Attachment was towards the United

[33] *Collections etc.*, XIX, 105-106. [34] *Ibid.*, 65. (Italics inserted).

States and were ready at all Times to Attend their Call, that the whole of Them on St. Johns & Elsewhere woud remove as early as the Season woud admit. But Necessity Compelled to Go to St. Johns being in the Greatest want for Necessarys. They Express the Greatest Affection for the French, the Connection with whome, much Cements their Union with us. *The Priest which came from the French Fleete, Appears the Most Calculated for the Indians then Any I ever saw, either from the French or Britains, the Steps he has taken, the Conduct he persues, gives the Indians the Greatest Satisfaction And which (if he is permitted to Tarrys) will be of the Greatest Utility as Benefit in Securing the Interest of the Indians.* And I am now well convinced, if Suitable Supplys are Laid in for the Indians to prevent their Going to the Britons for Necessarys, the whole of them as far as Canada, will Immediately Joyn for any Sort of Business the States may Require & in a Short Time win the Adjacent Mickmacks, if not the Whole for the Same Purpose. After Settling all Matters I returned the 6th January Leaving the Priest and Lieut. Delesdernier: the former being aged & so Infirm coud not Stand the Cold in an Open Boat. The 25th [January] the Priest & Mr. Delesdernier returned to Machias, Brot Inteligence that the Indians were Greatly Incensed at me in not Procuring some Provisions for them. When I was with Them and further Acquainted by the Priest Their Minds are much Lifted up by having a Reverend Father And the Expectation of Supplys. Taulk Continually of War. The Situation of the Country is growing more Alarming every day.[35]

This letter was read at Boston in the Senate on February 14, 1781, and the following day read in the House of Representatives.

Lieut. Frederick Delesdernier drew up on July 28, 1780, a "return of the Indians and their Familys that are and have been in the Service of the United States under the superintendency of Col. Allan." On Passamaquoddy were encamped 15 men, 15 women and 23 children and at the Schoodic Lakes were encamped Passamaquoddies: 31 men, 27 women, and 39 children; Maliseets: 51 men, 53 women, and 65 children, probably Maliseets and Passamaquoddies: 39 men, 23 women, 8 children, Micmacs: 10 men; Penobscots: 51 men, 57 women and 66 children: a total of 573 souls. In the numbers of Penobscots are included 8 Mohawks: 4 men, 3 women, and 1 child. Besides there is listed a Pierre Mohawk with wife and 3 children; yet it is uncertain whether

[35] *Ibid.*, 106-110, 112-113. (Italics inserted).

they really belonged to the Mohawk tribe.[36] This return was drawn up at a time "when by very great Encouragement from the Enemy so far had Influenced over the Indians as to draw [them] from this Post [Machias].[37] Many of them returned to Machias, so that the number of Indians Father Frederick ministered to was considerably larger. On March 17, 1781, Allan reported that "several Indian Famelys have Arrived at Passamaquoddy from St. Johns, since January 26th."[38]

This increase in numbers came at a most opportune time. On February 28, 1781, the British Secretary of State wrote from London to Governor McLean of Nova Scotia that he hoped Clinton would send such a strong reinforcement as to enable them to take possession of the remainder of Maine and establish a fort at Townsend or Falmouth on Casco Bay.[39] These British plans were certainly thwarted by Allan and his Catholic Indians.

Allan chose at the beginning of 1781 the Passamaquoddy "for the Principle Place for General Rendevous."[40] In March, 1781, he despatched the priest and Lieut. Delesdernier to Frenchman's Bay, Me., "to celebrate Lent and they returned to Machias in eight days."[41] In May 1781 Allan moved to Passamaquody to take better care of the Indians.[42]

On March 2, 1781, the General Court of Massachusetts resolved to request the Admiral of the French fleet at Newport to cruise on the eastern coast of that State in order to capture and destroy the British vessels infesting it and that the [French] ship *Mars* be fitted up to accompany the French fleet. On March 9, the Governor of Massachusetts Bay was empowered to impress seamen to go on board the *Mars*.[43] The French commander Destouches granted the request of Massachusetts and on March 15, 1781, he

[36] Kidder, *op. cit.*, 284-285.
[37] *Collections etc.*, XIX, 122-123. [38] *Ibid.*, 188-189.
[39] *Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes, 1894*, 427.
[40] *Collections etc.*, 109.
[41] *Ibid.*, 189; Kidder, *op. cit.*, 291.
[42] *Collections etc.*, 257.
[43] *Resolves of General Court of Province of Massachusetts*, Oct. 26, 1780 to March 19, 1781. Second Session, chapt. 190, 214, pp. 331-332, 350; *Collections, etc.*, XIX, 170-172.

fought the British in a furious battle with 8 battleships and 3 frigates and cleared the coast.

"On the 17th of May [1781]," Allan wrote on June 16, "the Ship Marrs Came into the Harbour [Machias]. I requested of the Captain to Run Down to Passamaquody, as it would be a Check to the Enemys Privatiers. On our Arrival we were Visited by a Number of the Indians who were much Satisfy'd with the Appearance of the Ship. The 22d the Marrs proceeded on her Cruize. The 1st inst. [June] Dispatch'd off the Priest, allso Lieut. Delesdernier with his Family to Settle Down with them; his Ability and Friendship with them, I flatter myself will be of the greatest Utility. The Priest I allso Propose to keep there [Passamaquoddy] the Most of his Time"[44] These measures were necessitated by the discontent found among the Indians encamped on Passamaquoddy Bay. Thus Father Frederick, the chaplain, was kept busy trying to pacify the Indians "who had left their own river" (St. John) and had no time for hunting and trade, "their Time having been Devoted for the Defence of the Country."[45] Yet Allan was glad to report that on June 20, 1781, twenty canoes of Indians arrived from St. Johns at Passamaquoddy and he expected some more before long.[46]

The missionary labors of Father Frederick among the Catholic Indians of Maine came to an end in September, 1781. On August 13, 1781, de Grasse left the West Indies with his powerful fleet and on August 21st Admiral de Barras sailed from Newport, R. I., south to join de Grasse with his fleet.[47] When Father Frederick came down from Maine, the *Jason* had left the waters of Rhode Island and was nearing the capes of the Chesapeake. On September 5, 1781, the Commissary General of Massachusetts Bay was directed

to deliver the Revd father Frederick de Bourger [*sic*], Chaplain of one of his most Christian Majesties Ship and lately a Missionary among the

[44] *Ibid.*, 283-284. [45] *Ibid.*, 284. [46] *Ibid.*, 288.

[47] Keim, De B. Randolph, *Story of the Participation of France in the War of American Independence*, in: *Rochambeau, a commemoration of the services of the French Auxiliary Forces in the War of Independence* (Washington, D. C., 1907), 414-417.

Eastern Tribes of Indians under the Care of Col. John Allen, Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the Eastern Department, two hundred and thirty two Rations due to him for his Service from the Seventh of May 1780 to the 30th August 1781 and Charge the same to the United States.[48]

In May, 1780, Father Frederick was on the high seas in European waters. Finally, on September 25, 1781, the General Court of Massachusetts resolved at Boston "that there be paid out of the public treasury of this Commonwealth of Massachusetts the sum of one hundred forty two pounds ten shillings, in specie, to FREDERICK DE BOURGES in full for his service, rations and expenses, twelve months and thirteen days, as missionary to the Eastern Indians, said sum to be charged to the United States." [49] Accordingly, Father Frederick was paid from August 18, 1780, when he left Rhode Island, till September 1, 1781, when he must have left his mission in Maine.

The committee appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts reported on September 24, 1783, that "the Establishment at Machias was a Continental Establishment and John Allen an Agent of Congress and the Supplies hath been granted him for the Support of the Post at Machias in full Confidence that Congress would be answerable for same. And the Appointment of a Priest in that Quarter was evidently made in 1778 by the then Council of this State at the Desire of Congress." [50] An itemized account of supplies for the defence of the Post of Machias charged by Massachusetts against the United States amounted to 7897 pounds and 8 shillings.[51] In this amount are included the sums advanced by Massachusetts to pay the salary of Father Frederick de Bourges and to pay for the mass-wine and flour for altar-breads which he used on his mission. Father Frederick has the distinction of having been the second Catholic priest (de la Motte evidently was the first) who was paid a salary by the United States.

Col. Allan insisted that the salary of Father Frederick should be paid in full, as was done eventually. In his Memorial to the

[48] *Collections etc.*, XIX, 320.

[49] *Acts and Laws of Massachusetts 1781* (Boston, 1781; reprinted Boston, 1890), 727.

[50] *Collections etc.*, XIX, 324-326. [51] *Ibid.*, 376.

Senate and House of Massachusetts, dated June 20, 1781, he writes:

Your Memoralist has allso Engaged a Chaplain for the Use of the Eastern Indians, whose Behaviour and Conduct has been of the Most Assential Service in Securing the Indian Interest; by the Indulgence of the French Admiral he has Continued, and from the Various and feteagueing business he has to persue your Memoralist Fixed his Salary as low as in Justice Cou'd Possibly be, His being a Subject & in the Service of the Illusterous Ally of America, Your Memoralist has Endeavoured to make every thing as Agreeable & as Comfortable as his Situation wou's Admit. Promising allso full Satisfaction shoud be made without Deminution, Must therefore Humbly request, that said Chaplin May have his Salary Confirm'd & ordered to be paid in its ful Value. An Interpreter was allso Employ'd in Boston by the Hon.ble Council which during his Time of service it is allso requested may be Paid, as there is no further Occation for a French Interpreter, have Discharged him the Service.[52]

In Boston Father Frederick de Bourges was placed as chaplain on board the *Sagittaire* to replace the Capuchin chaplain Barnabas who had died on July 9, 1781. The *Sagittaire* left France on March 21, 1781, to convey six millions livres and 600 recruits to Boston, where she arrived about two months later. In September, 1782, the *Sagittaire* was back in France and nothing more is heard of Father Frederick, the Indian chaplain in Maine.[53]

The departure of Father Frederick de Bourges spelled the partial ruin of the Eastern Indian Department. On August 5, 1781, Franklin wrote to the British Secretary of State from Halifax that his Indians had been very strongly solicited by the rebels of Machias and that great pains were necessary to keep them quiet. "If they should elude our influence, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to continue with the cutting of masts." [54] Col. Allan on his part could report on October 17, 1781, that his Indians had stopped a number of Americans on their way to St. John's to aid and assist in loading the mastships, and that "Great numbers of the Indians which went to St. Johns are returned." [55]

[52] *Ibid.*, 371-372.

[53] *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Americaine*, 174. *Correspondence of General Washington and Comte de Grasse* (Washington, D. C., 1931), 2.

[54] *Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes, 1894*, 430.

[55] *Collections etc.*, XIX, 355.

Yet things changed a month later. In November, 1781, the British succeeded through the influence of Abbé Bourg in making a new treaty of peace with the Indians on St. John's. Franklin wrote on November 22, 1781, that his Indians were grateful for the regular appointment of a priest and that they pledged themselves to fight their tribesmen of Machias, the Penobscot and Kennebec, and to protect the men who were cutting the masts.

The British had succeeded at last in gaining the mastery over the Catholic Indians. In his letter of March 8, 1782, Col. Allan describes the sad state of his Indian department:

> The Great discontent which took place Among the Indians Last Summer, in not having Necessary Supplys, & the Trade not being in a Manner Agreeable to their Expectations, withdrew to the River St. Johns, where every Step has been taken & Means used to Detain them; what their Determination is, is still unknown. But shall proceed Amoung them as soon as the Season will permit. The Principle part of the Indians being at present drawn away to St. Johns, it will Require a Speedy Assistance, that an early Excursion may be made to Secure their Interests, as every Step will be taken on St. Johns and from Canada to detain them in the British Interest.[56]

Three weeks later Col. Allan fixed his headquarters sixty miles east of Machias nearer to the Indians on the boundaries of Nova Scotia.[57] Yet the war was drawing to an end and the services of the Indians were not so necessary any longer and the Catholic Indians were neglected both by the American government and the Catholic priests.

Kidder justly remarks: "Was it not expecting too much of these suffering Indians that they could withstand such strong temptations (of British goods) and adhere to Col. Allan's almost naked commissariat? We infer that Indians went to St. John river, and obtained the property, and, after fulfilling the agreement to the British, returned to Allan, and remained faithful to our side." [58] This loyalty was the more heroic considering "the Horrid & Villanous conduct of [American] Traders towards them" [59]

[56] *Collections etc.*, XIX, 437, 439. [57] *Ibid.*, 462.
[58] *Military Operations in Eastern Maine*, 283.
[59] Allan, August 22, 1782, in Kidder, *op. cit.*, 294.

whose "dissimulation, deceit and intrigueing talents" merited for them by Allan the scathing names of "miscreants and tools of Anti-Christ." [60]

2. Father Juniper Berthiaume, O. F. M. Recollect. (1780-1784.)

In August 1780 a delegation of Penobscot Indians headed by their chief, Orono, went to Rhode Island to get information about the French navy. Upon their return to Boston they applied for a priest, and General Wadsworth on October 7, 1780, requested that "a priest may be obtained for them of the French fleet at Newport." [61] The French Consul at Boston gave them encouragement that they might have a priest to go with them to the Penobscot river, provided they tarried longer in Boston.[62] A few weeks later the French Consul had fortunately found a priest for them and on October 30, the committee of both Houses reported that "Provision should be made for the Accommodation & Subsistance of the Person whom the French Consul has recommended and also "for his Support while in that Country." [63] On November 11, 1780, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay resolved on the petition of Col. Josiah Brewer, truckmaster at Fort Halifax on Kennebec River, that Juniper Bertheaune [*sic*], Recollect, the Instructor recommended by the French Consul, to reside with the Penobscot Tribe of Indians, be allowed & paid for his Services in Establishing the said Tribe in the interest of America the Sum of five Pounds of the new Emission per Month & two Rations per Day until the further Order of the General Court." [64] Lieutenant Andrew Gilman was the paid interpreter to the said tribe.[65] Father Juniper went to his mission about the same time in company with Orono and five other Penobscot Indians, the truckmaster Josiah Brewer and the interpreter Andrew Gilman.

[60] Allan, November 19, 1777, in Kidder, *op. cit.*, 244.
[61] *Collections etc.*, XVIII, 460.
[62] *Ibid.*, XIX, 2.
[63] *Ibid.*, 8-9, 15, 36-37; Resolves, 9.
[64] *Resolves*, 151.
[65] *Collections etc.*, XIX, 63-64.

Father Juniper Berthiaume [66] was not a navy chaplain; he apparently came directly from France in response to the invitation of the French consuls who since 1778 had been trying to obtain a priest for the Catholic Indians of Maine.[67] Father Juniper resided at Fort Halifax which stood at the junction of the Sebasticook with the Kennebec. It was built of hewn timber and was still preserved in 1867 in the town of Waterville, Me. After the defeat at Penobscot (August 13, 1779) the whole bay and the river were held by the British. To keep up the communications with the Penobscot Indians, a truck-house with articles for trade with them was established higher up at the head of the boat navigation on the Kennebec, in the old Fort Halifax which had been built some twenty years before, and from this depot the Penobscot tribe was supplied.[68] This place was about 150 miles distant from Machias.

No sooner did Father Juniper take up his residence at Fort Halifax than twenty families of Penobscots consisting of ninety-nine men, women and children came to settle near the fort and to establish there an Indian village, fifty miles away from their hunting-grounds.[69] Perhaps some of the Penobscots who had been living under Allan's command east of Machias joined their tribesmen on the Kennebec in the course of the year 1781.

In June, 1781, Father Juniper returned to Boston in the company of chief Orono, two other Indians, the truckmaster Brewer and the interpreter Gilman. On June 22, 1781, he addressed a petition to the General Court stating that he "has been on Duty With the Indians Eight months past and Supported himself Chiefly" and praying "he May have his back Rations and some Necessarys for his Support for the future and be Dispatched [back] as Soon as possible as He is required to be with the Tribe. The Indians present with me are Sober, Temperate, Steady Men and they May have Good Quarters allow'd them, The Little while they Hope to Stay." [70]

[66] Father Juniper signs his name always *Berthiaume, Recollet*, without any other designation.

[67] Cf. Griffin, *op. cit.*, II, 119.

[68] Kidder, *op. cit.*, 278.

[69] *Collections etc.*, XIX, 113-114.

[70] *Ibid.*, 291-292.

Father Juniper was detained some weeks in Boston. On July 6, he addressed a second petition to the General Court of Massachusetts stating that he, his interpreter and three Indians "are here waiting an Opportunity to Get Home with what Your Honors hath Pleas'd to Grant them and are Without Money or Provision for their Support, and no body Willing to do for them," that they are "Without their Pay"; and he concludes by "Praying to Grant about Twenty five Pounds, therefore, in Specie" to him. The Senate resolved that same day to allow sixty pounds in bills of the new emission to be drawn out of the treasury of the Commonwealth in favor of Father Juniper Berthiaume. The House, however, raised the sum to one hundred pounds and the Senate concurred on the same day. The resolve was approved by President Samuel Adams and John Hancock likewise on the same day.[71]

The chaplaincy of Father Juniper Berthiaume was not a colonial establishment and the money paid him was drawn from the treasury of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It is worth noticing that the General Court of Massachusetts gave him the name of "instructor to the Penobscot Tribe," and not that of priest or missionary.

Ezekiel Pattee, of the town of Winslow, Me., stated in his petition to the General Court on September 26, 1781, that he had during the preceding winter furnished the starving Indians with victuals "at the united Request of some of the Indians & a french Priest who came with them, but tho' he has repeatedly Applied to the s^{d}. priest for his Pay, he has not been able to obtain any Satisfaction from him or the Indians."[72] A resolve of February 22, 1782, granted Mr. Pattee as indemnification the sum of sixteen pounds, six shillings and ten-pence-half-penny, for having supplied the Indians with a quantity of provision last winter at the "united Request of a Member of the penobscot Indians & a french priest who resides amongst them."[73]

The truckmaster at Fort Halifax belonged to the class of miscreants whom Col. Allan had called "tools of Anti-Christ." On November 20, 1781, Father Juniper stated in a "Complaint" to

[71] *Ibid.*, 303-304. [72] *Ibid.*, 339. [73] *Ibid.*, 421-422.

the Senate and House of Massachusetts, written at Winslow, Me., that "about twelve months ago I had the Care of the Penobscot Tribe by a Resolve of the General Court put into my Hands, from which Time I looked that Justice be done to said Indians by the Truckmaster at Fort Halifax," and he had observed how the truckmaster cheated the Indians by keeping the presents sent by the government and later selling them at enormous prices, how he hardly paid anything for their skins and cheated in weight and measure with the result that the Indians are trading now with the British. He concludes with the remark that the truckmaster "is not friendly to the American cause" and trades with the British.[74]

The truckmaster was not slow in retaliating with the charge that Father Juniper was an emissary of the British, but the townsmen of Winslow on August 10, 1782, sent a vindication to Boston which fully established his loyalty to the Americans.[75] On October 17, 1782, the truckmaster Josiah Brewer was discharged and Father Juniper continued in his office.[76]

Father Juniper was paid by Massachusetts five pounds monthly and two rations daily from November 11, 1780, till July 1, 1781. In June 1782 he came to Boston to claim his salary and rations for his services during the preceding year but "rations were not to be had" and the salary was paid "with a note of the State of Massachusetts which Father Juniper was obliged to sell at a very low rate, and deprived of sufficient means, has lived a most wretched life last winter." [77] However, the government paid "the additional Sum of thirty Shillings to defray the expenses of Father Juniper during his stay in Boston" [78] for board and lodging from June 19 till June 26, 1782. The following year in June Father Juniper returned again to Boston to reclaim his salary for the previous year. On June 4, 1783, the House resolved that he be paid "seventy four pounds, six shillings and four pence which is the full of his Wages and Rations up to the first of this June,"

[74] *Ibid.*, 372-374.
[75] *Ibid.*, XX (Portland, 1914), 67671, 81-83, 157-158; Kidder, *op. cit.*, 278.
[76] *Collections etc.*, XX, 82, 111-112.
[77] *Ibid.*, 46-47, 232.
[78] *Ibid.*, 47.

and besides that be paid "forty eight shillings to defray the Board" of Father Juniper whilst he staid in Boston and finally they discharged him. These sums paid by the treasurer of Massachusetts were this time "charged to the United States." [79]

Father Juniper was never notified of his dismissal and went back to his mission. In June, 1784, he came to Boston to find out that he had been dismissed the year previous. He petitioned the House and Senate to pay him "one years' salary and Rations as he was never informed of his Dismissal, for had he known it he would have retired from said Service, but thinking himself really in the Employ of this State he has continued therein ever since to the first day of June [1784]." [80] The General Court did not listen to his petition "to take his case into their Wise and Just Consideration," and did not pay the salary due to him. No more is heard of Father Juniper Berthiaume after this. Evidently he returned to France shortly afterwards, since he could not continue to live among the impoverished Penobscots.

William Lithgow, a settler of Winslow, Me., pays high tribute to Father Juniper Berthiaume in a letter written to the Governor of Massachusetts on August 13, 1782, wherein he writes:

> That the Government were fortunate in their Choice of Instructor I am fully persuaded both by the Indians themselves over whom he has gained a peculiar ascendancy & who discover an inviolate attachment to his Person & also by the Information of some of the first Characters in this County, who give it as their Opinion, that ever since his Residence among the Indians he has made it his invariable & earnest Endeavour to direct that Ascendency so as but to answer the end of his Appointment.[81]

Upon the withdrawal of Father Juniper Berthiaume the Indians of Maine remained destitute of spiritual ministrations. The American government likewise took no notice of these Catholic Indians, their former allies. But Col. Allan did not forget their services to the country. On May 31, 1791, he addressed a letter to Bishop Carroll requesting him to send a priest to his beloved Indians; he remarked in that letter that "it was always observed by the French gentlemen of the clergy, whom we were favored

[79] *Ibid.*, 232-233. [80] *Ibid.*, 385. [81] *Ibid.*, 69.

with during the war, that they never saw a more respectable collection in France." [82] The bishop granted that request quite readily, and in October, 1792, a priest arrived to take charge of that neglected flock.

The foregoing exposition of facts evinces a greater solicitude by the American government in behalf of the spiritual welfare of their Catholic Indian allies than our historians are wont to believe. Col. Allan, in 1793, stresses in a report to the Massachusetts government the fact that "the Indians are not subject to any power; they have been always viewed as a distinct Body govern'd by their own Customs & Manners." [83]

JOHN M. LENHART.

[82] Shea, *Hist of Cath. Church etc.*, II, 395, 303-318; cf. Guilday, *Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York, 1922), I, 407-418.

[83] Kidder, *op. cit.*, 318.

MISCELLANY

THE LEOPOLDINE FOUNDATION REPORTS

In the first two issues of this REVIEW (April and July, 1915), the late Rev. Raymond Payne contributed an analysis of the *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich* as a typical example of foreign sources for the study of American Catholic history. Only the first thirty volumes (1830-1860) were examined; but the list of their contents revealed a surprising number of letters and reports from American bishops and missionaries which had not up to that time been utilized for the story of the Church in this country. Complete sets of these valuable Reports are hard to find. That in the library of the Catholic University of America, a gift from the late Cardinal Piffl of Vienna, though lacking in several numbers, has been the object of considerable research on the part of students in the Department of History.

Father Payne's analysis and commentary attracted the attention of writers to this valuable printed source. Rev. Francis Epstein contributed to the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (now *Mid-America*) a partial history of the organization—"The Leopoldine Association: the German 'Propagation of the Faith' Society", (III, July, 1920, 88-92). The first formal account of the *Berichte* is that by Rev. Theodore Roemer, O. M. Cap., Ph. D., *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States (1829-1839)*, which appeared in the United States Catholic Historical Society's *Monograph Series* (XIII, 143-211). Dr. Roemer's comprehensive study of the first decade of the Association's large-hearted charity to the American Church accentuated the need of a translation of all these Reports, especially to the year 1868.

The Leopoldine Association was only a few years in existence when it became the object of a violent attack by Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph. Morse saw in the society a nefarious scheme on the part of Catholic Austria to gain control of the United States. In his brochure *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States etc.*, published in 1835, Morse displays all the viciousness of the contemporary Nativistic press. Its place in the politics of the day has been ably described by Rev. F. J. Connors, M. M., "Samuel Finley Breese Morse and the Anti-Catholic Political Movements in the United States (1791-1872)," in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (X, October, 1927, 83-122).

As an example of the value of the *Berichte*, we have been furnished by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Cleary, of the Diocese of Peoria, with a literal trans-

lation of vol. XXII (1850), containing letters from the prelates of the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore (May, 1849), from Bishops Henni, Odin, Michael O'Connor, Timon, Blanchet and Chanche, and from Fathers F. X. Weninger, S. J., Baraga, Pierz, H. J. B. Brouillet, S. J., and Charles Boeswald of Louisville, Kentucky. Father Boeswald's report on the status of the Catholic Church in Kentucky was written in Vienna, December 13, 1847, and was presented personally to the Archbishop of Vienna, president of the Leopoldine Association.

In his *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1884), Ben. J. Webb writes that it was his privilege to know Father Boeswald whom he describes as "an admirable man and priest, and a faithful guardian of the interests of religion in his parish." He came to Kentucky in 1843 and was ordained to the priesthood that year by Bishop Flaget. A few years after the completion of the Church of the Immaculate Conception in Louisville which he built, Father Boeswald passed away (November 2, 1855). He was chancellor of the Diocese of Bardstown. Webb writes: "He was a man of dignified learning and pleasant address, and as a clergyman he was distinguished for his talents, piety and zeal."

Father Boeswald's report on the Kentucky Church is divided into two parts. The first covers the years 1787 to 1847, and the second, the status of the Church there in 1847. Only the first part is given here, since the second is largely made up of statistics. After an introductory paragraph asking the Archbishop of Vienna for four hundred gulden ($175.00) for traveling expenses, Father Boeswald writes:

Until about 1765, the English colonists in North America did not pass beyond the Allegheny Mountains except to hunt or to drive out the French occupants of the Mississippi Valley. Permanent settlements began ten years before the opening of the Revolutionary War when immigrants from North Carolina became the pioneers of Tennessee. A few years later the Virginians and the Marylanders set out westward, halting preferably in Kentucky, a region then dominated by Indian nomads. These natives had no fixed abode but moved hither and thither on their hunting excursions. Often they engaged in fratricidal wars, giving to the land the name Kentucky that is to say "the dark and bloody ground." From these savages the immigrants suffered much on their journeys and in their settlements. The Indians seized the boats floating down the Ohio and in every possible way harrassed and terrorized the immigrants. Often the savages suddenly swooped down upon the settlements, leaving death and destruction in their wake. Harrodsburg, now a city a few miles above Frankfort on the Kentucky river, was besieged for several years. Consequently, the laborers in the fields had to be protected by armed men; in a single contest at Blue Lick, on the Licking river not far from Maysville, the Kentuckyians lost 69 men. About 1794, order was restored by General Anthony Wayne, who by a decisive victory on the Maumee permanently broke the power of the Indians and thus ensured peace and

safety for the white settlements. Meanwhile, about 1500 men had fallen in battle. This lengthy conflict impressed upon the Kentucky character the traits of knightly courage, frankness and hospitality. Inured to war they also treated travelers well. Even though unknown to the Kentuckyians, wherever he goes, the traveler can count on a hospitable reception and he can obtain a lodging place without pleading for it with compulsory compliments and without paying an exorbitant price. So scarce are the Indians there now, that I saw only two face-to-face. They have departed permanently and completely from Kentucky.

Among the pioneers of Kentucky there were a few Catholics and others followed from year to year, gradually increasing in numbers and choosing the region near Bardstown preferably for their permanent location. All came from Maryland. At first their spiritual condition was bad; indeed they were wholly neglected. At that time there were few priests in the colonies; these were aged and they longed to be restored to the Jesuit Order. Their number was insufficient for the East. The long, difficult and hazardous journey through the western wilderness and the danger of falling a prey to lurking Indians may well have deterred many of them. Not until 1787, did an Irish priest, Father Whelan, venture into Kentucky. Already advanced in age, he was not in condition to bear the hardships of missionary life. He returned after a few months to his fatherland. The same fate befell another priest who followed in his footsteps. Actually the Kentucky mission began in 1793.

The former Jesuit Father, John Carroll, despite the opposition of his confreres, at the recommendation of Franklin was in 1790 named Bishop of Baltimore. Zealous and circumspect, he soon turned his attention to the little flock in Kentucky and he sought a shepherd for them. Driven out of France by the Revolution, a number of French priests sought refuge in America where they devoted their energy to the salvation of the neglected Catholics, and through their tireless zeal they contributed much toward making the Catholic Church what it is today in the United States. Among these priests was a young cleric, Theodore Stephen Badin, a native of Orleans, France, who was ordained in July 1793, the first to receive the sacerdotal dignity in the United States. Immediately following the ordination, Bishop Carroll announced to Father Badin that he was destined for the missions of Kentucky. The distance and difficulties of that mission frightened the young priest. He asked time for reflection which was granted under the condition that he employ eight days to make his decision and to determine the will of God. The bishop wished to obtain divine guidance on the same matter. At the conclusion of the alloted period, both clung to their original opinion, but, as was proper, the first submitted to the will of his bishop and accepted his appointment. Results indicate that no better choice could have been made. Seldom are the necessary virtues in the same degree combined in one man as in the case of the aforesaid priest. Rugged strength enabled him to journey annually through the United States from end to end, and his spiritual vigor was no less great. Even at this age this octogenarian composed an elegant Latin poem. His unfailing cheerfulness and his inexhaustible wit, employed chiefly against Protestants who sneered at Catholicism, were distictive characteristics.

It is impossible to describe all he did and suffered in Kentucky. During many years entirely alone, he was obliged to visit all the Catholics in an area as large as Austria. Although he gave peace of conscience to thousands, he was unable himself to go to confession because there was no other priest available during twenty-three months. We can understand his deprivations, if one reflects that he lived in a country still undeveloped. The pioneer was fortunate if he had cornbread and milk for food and homespun and deer-skins for clothing. In the early days of his mission he spent most of his time on horseback. Often he spent the night in the woods and read his breviary by moonlight. His activity brought prosperity to the Kentucky mission, and rightly he has been called the Apostle of Kentucky.

At various times he had several colaborers in his exacting vineyard, but none of these priests remained long. Either death carried them away or they went to other regions. Only the revered Charles Nerinckx, a Belgian priest, remained loyal to him and shared with him all the burdens and consolations. Both together probably received more converts into the Church than the united efforts of all the remaining missionaries have accomplished since then.

Meanwhile, Catholics increased so rapidly that the appointment of a bishop for Kentucky became an urgent necessity since the Bishop of Baltimore lived too far away. Badin proposed the name of the Suplician, Benedict Joseph Flaget, exiled by the French Revolution and formerly stationed at Vincennes and Baltimore. Bishop Carroll brought the matter before the authorities at Rome. In 1808, Boston diocese was erected for New England, New York diocese for New York state, Philadelphia diocese in Pennsylvania and Bardstown diocese for Kentucky. Bardstown was made an episcopal see. Benedict Joseph Flaget, appointed the first Bishop, was dumbfounded at the news. He regarded himself as incapable of assuming the office with its fearful responsibilities. He hastened to France to seek the advice of his superior, the head of the Sulpicians. Advised by his superior to accept the episcopate, Father Flaget obeyed and in November, 1810, he was consecrated by Archbishop Carroll. The following spring, accompanied by his old friend, Father David, by a subdeacon and a few other persons, he set out for Kentucky where he was received by the Catholics as well as their poverty permitted. A log chapel was his first cathedral. Many Protestants appeared also in order to see the bishop and the bishop's horns, for such Protestants who never associated with Catholics, not seldom believe to this day that priests and bishops have horns in order to manifest by his headdress the father from whom they come.

Taking quarters in the block house, the bishop and his companions assumed their tasks. The bishop visited his diocese, confirmed, preached and fulfilled all the duties of an apostolic man. Ignatius Chabrat, his present coadjutor, came to Kentucky as a subdeacon and was the first priest ordained in the State. At that time the diocese of Bardstown extended over the whole region between Pittsburg and the Rocky Mountains and between Alabama and British Columbia.

Meanwhile, Father David had founded a seminary to develop a native clergy. For this purpose he was the ideal man, pious, learned, orderly in business.

He understood how to impart to his disciples those virtues which merited the admiration of all who had to deal with them. Thomas Howard presented three hundred acres for a site for the proposed seminary. The students dug the basement, mixed the mortar, carried water, etc. Their remaining time was employed in studying.

Soon after this undertaking was completed Father David founded the Sisters of Charity, who settled at first on this same farm but later moved to Nazareth, a short distance from Bardstown where they had bought some land from a preacher. Their first superior was Catherine Spalding who now after thirty-three years in the order exercises a blessed influence. Rev. Charles Nerinckx had in the meantime organized the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross, who in the beginning devoted themselves to manual labor and maintained themselves by tilling the fields. This rule, so much opposed to the customs of the country, was altered to permit the Sisters to educate girls.

The Dominicans founded two convents in Kentucky, one at St. Rose for men and St. Magdalene for women. Both these communities established houses in Ohio. Finally came the Trappists, but their Order, ill-adapted to the customs of the country and the needs of the Church, met many obstacles. They lost several members through death. They withdrew to Illinois and meeting the same difficulties there, they returned to France. The Congregation of the Brothers of St. Joseph who sought to secure their own salvation, to instruct children and to do housework for priests, dissolved after a brief existence.

In 1815, in order to lighten the burden of the Bishop of Bardstown, the Diocese of New Orleans was erected. It embraced the entire region of Louisiana or the present States of Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri. In Kentucky the number of Catholics increased daily; as a result the former log chapel became too small and was replaced by a larger church. In most of the missions this change occurred with a rapidity which today is wholly incomprehensible because churches are built at the present time in Kentucky with the greatest difficulty. The finest and best of these new churches was most fittingly the Cathedral at Bardstown which was built in Grecian style with a fine tower, pillars and an attractive vestibule. Beyond doubt it surpasses all churches, Protestant and Catholic, in Kentucky. The means for erecting this church were furnished in part by the citizens of Bardstown and partly by the pious Catholics of France. Among the remaining churches, the seminary chapel of St. Thomas was distinguished for its graceful lines.

Soon after the dedication of the Cathedral, occurred the consecration of a bishop. The diocese was still too large and many immigrants had come into many other sections of Kentucky. Bishop Flaget selected his old friend Bishop David as his coadjutor, although Bishop David was six years older than Bishop Flaget. Bishop David continued to direct the seminary and to lead his people to Christian wisdom and a godly life. Among his students were two whose names are unforgettably linked with the history of the diocese: Elder and Byrne. These two had completed their studies together, were ordained at the same time, and pursued, although not in the same place, the same vocation: the instruction of youth. Supported by his bishop and

the other priests, Father Elder founded the famous college, St. Joseph's in Bardstown; Father Byrne through his own efforts established St. Mary's. In this college the theologians instructed the less advanced students in the classics. After eighteen years of labor, a capacious brick structure was erected but scarcely was it completed when it was destroyed by a fire of unknown origin.

Plans were made to rebuild more splendidly but a financial depression fell keenly upon that class of parents who were the best patrons of the school. The institution fell into debt and its very existence was for a long time threatened. Partly through the direction of Rev. Edward McMahon, one of the most distinguished priests of the diocese, hope was entertained that in time the heavy burden could be lifted.

Meanwhile, St. Mary's College progressed quietly and modestly; its goal was education for practical vocations rather than the pursuit of the classical studies. The founder finally gave it over to the Jesuits who kept it ten years and always maintained a good attendance. When the Jesuits moved their young students to Louisville, they abandoned St. Mary's in order to found the more important St. John's, New York. St. Mary's was afterwards destroyed by fire, a fate which overtook several Catholic schools. It is now in the hands of the priests of the Holy Cross and the Brothers of St. Joseph, all of whom came from France. A third institution arose later at Mount Merino but it lasted only a short time because of lack of patronage.

While these two institutions were being established, the general Jubilee of 1825 arrived. Bishop Flaget accompanied by the missionary, Rev. Francis Kenrick, now Bishop of Philadelphia, visited almost every community and conducted missions according to the spiritual exercises. They preached, held conferences, heard confessions, the bishop confirmed and when the mission ended in one place, they passed on to another place.

About this time the burden of the bishop was lightened. In 1822, Rev. Edward Fenwick, O. P., was consecrated Bishop of Cincinnati with jurisdiction over Ohio and Michigan. Then Bishop Flaget experienced the joy of beholding eight dioceses carved out of his original diocese. In addition to Cincinnati, Detroit was erected in 1833, Vincennes in 1834, Nashville and Dubuque in 1837, Milwaukee and Chicago in 1843, and Cleveland in 1847. All these dioceses have far surpassed in rapid growth the diocese of Bardstown which remained stationary for reasons which will be given later.

Meanwhile, little of importance had happened in Kentucky. Friction occurred between Catholics and Protestants because the latter were deeply afflicted by the rapid growth of the Catholic church. Public disputations concerning the faith and morals of the contending parties frequently occurred. Whenever the building selected was too small to accommodate the audiences who were recruited from every place, the debates were held in the open. Even old Bishop David participated in these contests. A Presbyterian preacher from Bardstown, who had invited all the preachers to attend a debate, who driven so hard by Bishop David that he postponed the controversy and then by a clever ruse absented himself from the affair. Father Badin also was a clever apologist. Often he held his debates in the woods

where he almost invariably, through his scintillating wit, delivered his opponent to the well-deserved laughter of the audience. Once he was present at an assembly of Presbyterians and Methodists whose preachers inveighed pitilessly against the Catholic Church. Scarcely had the preacher concluded his attack when Father Badin arose and asked permission to speak. So much unrestrained nonsense had been spoken that in defense of impartiality truth should be told argued Father Badin. He was a Catholic priest, but he had neither horns nor horses' hoofs, as they could convince themselves by careful examination. Then he continued to the great satisfaction of his hearers to explain against it. In this way much prejudice was removed and many preachers were reduced to silence, for it is characteristic of the American, once he has been put to shame, that he will not in the same place repeat the old story.

In 1833, Bishop David resigned his coadjutorship to prepare himself for a happy death; he retired to Nazareth where he was cared for gratefully and lovingly by his spiritual daughters, the Sisters of Charity. He died in 1841, honored by all who had known him, to a degree never attained by any other deceased person. He was the first to introduce into the United States, spiritual exercises for the laity. His successor in the dignity of the coadjutorship in 1834 was Rev. G. Ignatius Chabrat. Soon after the consecration of Bishop Chabrat, Bishop Flaget journeyed to Europe and remained four years. To him the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons is indebted in particular for its rapid progress. During his residence in Europe he visited almost every diocese in France as well as a great part of Italy and Germany. He recommended everywhere to everyone the Society and stimulated the clergy to support the work with all their energy. His work did not remain fruitless; the Society quadrupled its membership and thereby its usefulness. He recalled to life and speeded the growth also of the Louis Verein in Bavaria which in proportion to the Catholic population there has surpassed the accomplishments of the French Society.

Bishop Chabrat found another field for his activity. He directed his efforts toward the removal of debt from the Diocese of Bardstown. In this as in other dioceses the debts were a source of embarrassment and anxiety. By the aid received from France, Bishop Chabrat achieved the happiest results. Bardstown, now Louisville, is at present the only episcopal see not only free of debt but also in receipt of a considerable income from landed property. Other churches of the diocese do not fare so well and hence are falling into ruin.

European immigration to Kentucky, especially from Germany, began in 1833. Formerly the Catholic settlers were of English nativity or descent. At first the Germans settled at Louisville; their number increased so rapidly that in 1836 they had begun to build their own church; it was constructed in the very worst taste and was burdened by a debt of $7,333. Unfortunately, the founder was not the man to attain success in the community. In order to satisfy the faithful, Bishop Chabrat advanced the money on condition that it should be repaid in seven years.

In 1846, the German parish of 4,000 souls was divided. The new German parish was intrusted to me with instructions to build a church. Although there is no dissension, rather on the contrary, a unanimous desire to proceed

with the good work, the parish is too weak to carry through this project which requires $12,000. The parish can raise about $3,400 to meet the costs of the site and the school building, but not one single brick has been bought and there is nothing on hand with which to purchase the material. We must trust to the benefactors of the Leopoldine Foundation to attain our goal. The other German parish in Louisville is also in need, since this congregation must pay back the money loaned by the Bishop. This sum is $3,000 which represents the unpaid principal without interest. On May 13, of this year, that parish was obliged to pay $1,000. This parish could not aid us therefore last year and it cannot help us this year. Nor can the English-speaking Catholics of Louisville assist us, since they are engaged in building a church and school.

The progress of Louisville which has at present a population of 40,000, and the unsuitableness of Bardstown, a country village, occasioned the transfer of the episcopal see in 1841 to Louisville. Here was also the headquarters of the enemies of the Catholic Church. A league of Protestant preachers of various denominations pursued a campaign against the Catholics and their priests in pulpit and press. No methods were left unused to inflame a passionate hatred toward the Church. In order to allure many auditors they announced sermons for men only because the scandalous statements they desired to allege against the Catholic Church would be too shocking for the ears of respectable women. Such tactics were fruitless. The old bishop, by incessant prayer, and his priests, especially Fathers Martin Spalding and John A. Hill, O. P., by their sermons and articles in the newspapers, replied to this nonsense and obliterated the evil impression produced by the caluminators. After suffering repeated defeats, the league gave up the ghost in two years, while the Catholic priests are more popular than ever before.

On March 10, 1833, Father Ignatius Reynolds, vicar-general of the Diocese of Louisville, was consecrated Bishop of Charleston, the first native of Kentucky to rise to the episcopal dignity. A year before this date, the Sisters of the Good Shepherd founded a house in Louisville, as an asylum for unfortunate girls, a vocation which will furnish the nuns enough work. Since then nothing of importance has occurred except that in this autumn, Bishop Chabrat, suffering many bodily ills, offered his resignation which was accepted by the Holy Father. Bishop Flaget now in his 85th year and in the 38th year of his episcopate is no longer active except in prayer, but he has already done enough. For many years he ruled one of the most extensive dioceses in the world, and he laid the foundations of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the West. Eleven dioceses have been established in his original territory. Piety and confidence rather than cleverness and riches enabled him to persevere. Dioceses, which were erected out of his own, have had two or three bishops. He has outlived all, a true patriarch in the circle of his spiritual children and grandchildren.

Father Boeswald ends this part of his report with statistics on the population of the State. The total population of the State was almost 800,000. In 1820 the population was about one-half this number of whom about 18,000 were Catholics and 40,000 were Protestants. Therefore, at that time about one person in every seven was a Christian, while six-sevenths

had become indifferent to religion. Of these certainly one-half had not been baptized. Since that time the proportion of Christians to non-Christians had increased a little, but the fact was that everywhere in the United States thousands had become estranged from Christianity. There were 30,000 Catholics in Kentucky in 1847 according to estimates which exaggerated rather than minimized the actual number. This estimate was, however, out of all proportion with the Catholics in other dioceses which were erected out of the original Bardstown diocese. The younger dioceses were growing rapidly; the mother-diocese remained stationary. Father Boeswald assigned the following causes for the lack of progress in Kentucky:

> A primary cause was the fact that Kentucky in general had only great land owners who held tenaciously to their possessions, leaving no opportunity to others to settle on the land. I believe that there are in all Kentucky only two hundred German land-owners. The second cause is that many Kentuckyians emigrated to other states. Children departed from paternal home and sought their fortunes in other places. Often the elder people gripped by wanderlust traveled west and south. Many communities were actually depopulated in this manner; the once prosperous mission of St. Pius dwindled to a few families. Slavery on the one hand deprived the immigrants of labor and on the other hand produced vices which rendered men inaccessible to grace.

The second part of the report (for the year 1847) contains the number of churches, figures for the English-speaking, German, French and Italian Catholics, the number of families, the difficulties the missionaries met in trying to reach scattered groups of the faithful, and the Catholic negro slaves, about 500, in a total of 130,000. These, he writes, bring no dishonor to their Faith. "As a slave the negro was humble; when he obtained his freedom, he often became proud and brutal. Under good masters the slaves were better off than day laborers in Germany." The early history of the Bardstown Seminary is given, as is also that of St. Mary's College. The institutions in charge of nuns were having remarkable success. The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, the Sisters of Loretto and the Dominican Sisters were conducting excellent academies in many parts of the state, and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd had recently opened a house in Louisville. While "these cloisters and higher institutions," as Father Boeswald calls them, were doing good, especially in alleviating current prejudices against the Church, he believed that they were succeeding at the expense of elementary Catholic schools which were practically non-existent.

In a letter dated August 28, 1849, printed in this same volume of the 1850 *Berichte* (pp. 58-62), Father Boeswald acknowledges the receipt of $781.00 from the Leopoldine Foundation. This he applied to the debt on his new church.

Obviously, such reports as that of Father Boeswald should be controlled by works which have been written on the same subject since his time. In this case the first part of his report would need to be carefully compared with such volumes as Spalding's *Sketches* (Louisville, 1852), O'Daniel's *Light of the Church in Kentucky* (Very Rev. Samuel T. Wilson, O. P.), published in 1932, Sister Ramona's *Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier: 1785-1812* (Washington, D. C., 1936), together with the works listed in Dr. Code's selected bibliographies of the religious Orders and Congregations of women founded in the United States (1727-1850), which appeared in the October, 1937, issue of this REVIEW.

P. G.

BOOK REVIEWS

Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours. Publiée sous la direction de Augustin Fliche et Victor Martin. Vol. I, *L'Eglise primitive.* Par J. Lebreton et Jacques Zeiller. (1934. Pp. 574). Vol. II, *De la fin du II^e^ siècle jusqu'à la paix constantinienne.* Par J. Lebreton et Jacques Zeiller. (1935. Pp. 511). Vol. III, *De la paix constantinienne à la mort de Théodose.* Par J. R. Palanque, G. Bardy et Pierre de Labriolle. (1936. Pp. 539). Paris, Bloud et Gay.

The purpose of this monumental coöperative work of French Catholic scholarship, both ecclesiastical and lay, is to furnish a detailed critical history of the Church based directly on the sources and on the latest results of modern scholarship. Each volume contains about 500 pages and the whole work will comprise twenty-four volumes. The volumes were to appear at the rate of two per year, but up to the present there has been an interval of nearly a year between them. The scale of the enterprise can be concretely visualized from the fact that the first three volumes bring us only to the death of Theodosius in 395 A. D. The project has been carefully thought out, as the divisions, on the whole, have been well chosen; and in the first three volumes, at least, better scholars could hardly have been selected as collaborators. To safeguard organic unity so far as possible, not more than four scholars have been assigned to a given volume. In most cases, in fact, two scholars have collaborated or are to collaborate on any volume, and, in a few instances, an entire volume will be written by a single author.

In this general characterization of the whole work, I should like to stress also two distinguishing features which will be welcomed by all students of Church history. In the first place, the internal history of the Church, which is somewhat neglected in many Church histories, is being given its proper share of attention; and, secondly, the history of the Church in relation to the general political and social milieu, so often treated in a superficial and vague manner, is being adequately presented by scholars thoroughly familiar with the constitutional, social and economic history of the Roman Empire.

The new *Histoire de l'Eglise* is a well proportioned, scholarly and critical presentation of the life of the Church in all its aspects, but at the same time it is thoroughly Catholic in tone. The editors and collaborators have taken the position of Canon Cauchie, founder of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* whose famous dictum is quoted in the *Avant-propos*

of vol. 1: "Tout fidèle à sa foi admet le gouvernement du monde par la Providence, ce qui ne l'empêche pas d'étudier et de rechercher scientifiquement l'action des causes secondes."

To review each of the first three volumes in detail here would be impossible. It will be useful, however, to call attention to some minor slips and to offer some specific comments and suggestions.

Vol. I, pp. 11-14: the *Bibliographie générale* has so many gaps and misprints that it gives an unfavorable impression of the whole work. There is no excuse for the omission of such books as Rauschen-Altaner, *Patrologie,* Schmid-Stählin, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte,* Schanz-Hosius-Krüger, *Römische Literaturgeschichte,* and Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres.* On pp. 18-19 (note 2): through a slip, the words *Harvard Theological Review* must have fallen out of the text. P. 20 (note 1): for Middleton, Co., read Middletown, Conn. P. 197 (note 2): for *Dittenberger,* p. 867, read *Dittenberger,* no. 867. P. 234 (line 1): I do not understand why Lactantius should be referred to here as the *poète Lactance,* since he wrote almost entirely in prose. P. 291 (note 6): for *Scorpiacus,* read *Scorpiace.* P. 292 (note 2): add also the article *Droit persécuteur.* P. 292 ff. and 299 ff.: add also a reference to the excellent discussion of the Christian persecutions in their legal aspects contained in A. Ehrhard, *Die Kirche der Märtyrer,* p. 16-117. P. 318-319: as Duchesne's discussion of the trial of Apollonius is very brief and somewhat old, references should have been given here rather to the exhaustive treatment of the question by Dom Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie,* art. *Droit persécuteur,* vol. 4, cols. 1633-1646 (with full bibliography). P. 382 (note 1): for *Aubreistung,* read *Ausbreitung.* P. 385: the famous expression in Irenaeus, *potentior principalitas,* should have been fully discussed and the modern literature on it should have been cited. P. 458 (note 4): omit t. II, as De Labriolle's *Histoire* is a one volume work. P. 459 (and Vol. II, p. 160): in the treatment of the beginnings of Christian Latin Literature nothing is said about the early Latin translations of the Bible. These translations may not be literature in the strict sense, but they have had such vital importance in the development of the Western liturgy and of Christian Latin Literature proper, that I cannot understand why they have been ignored. Vol. II, p. 19 (note 3): for *British Encyclopedia,* p. 853, read *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Vol. XXVII, 11th ed., p. 853. P. 113 ff.: in this chapter Prof. Zeiller puts too much reliance on the *Historia Augusta* as a source. We know now that this work is the fabrication of a single anonymous writer of the late fourth century and that its contents must be used with extreme care. From the observation made on pp. 152-155 (note 3), it is clear that Prof. Zeiller does not trust the *Historia Augusta,* but he should have stated this on pp. 113-ff. and handled its evidence accordingly. P. 118 (note 7): for *Renfell,* read *Grenfell.* P.

411: Mgr. Ehrhard no longer considers that there is question of interpolation in the *De Unitate* of Saint Cyprian, but now holds that Cyprian himself is responsible for the two recensions. See Ehrhard, *Die Kirche der Märtyrer,* p. 280. P. 480 (note 4): on the date of Diocletian's Edict *De Maleficiis et Manichaeis,* see, not the antiquated discussions of Tillemont and Neander, but rather J. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen,* Vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1924, pp. 228 ff. Pp. 483 (note 5): a reference to the systematic treatments of the epithet *clarissimus* by modern scholars such as Cagnat or Hirschfeld would be much more useful to the reader than the reference to a single passage in Tertullian.

In the first two volumes, there is much overlapping on the part of the collaborators, *e. g.* in the treatment of Saint Cyprian, but I do not consider this a serious defect, especially when some important and disputed point is involved. On the other hand, some needless repetition in volumes II and III could have been avoided, if the material on the persecution of the Christians after the abdication of Diocletian had been omitted in volume II and placed at the beginning of volume III, where it belongs. The one serious gap in the text of the first two volumes is this: in view of the great importance attached to the Oriental mystery religions in the modern literature on the history of Christianity, these pagan cults should have been given a much more formal and detailed treatment than they have received.

Vol. III, p. 132: to the literature on Pope Liberius should be added the long and valuable article by Amann in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique.* P. 194 (line 8): through a slip, Tacitus is omitted from the list of the first pagan writers who mention the Christians. P. 233 (fourth line from end of text): for *vicarius urbi* read *vicarius urbis.* P. 236: to the literature on Pope Damasus should be added the studies by O. Marucchi. P. 300 (second line from end): for *Burkitt* read *Butler* and for *Easter* read *Eastern.* P. 327: Ryan, *Irish Monasticism,* should be cited, and not the antiquated article by Zimmer. P. 366: in connection with pilgrimages to the Holy Places, reference should certainly be made here also to Gregory of Nyssa, *Letter* II. P. 367: I am surprised to find that the two most important recent studies on the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae,* Leclercq's article, *Etheria* in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie,* and especially A. Bludau, *Die Pilgerreise der Aetheria,* Paderborn, 1927, have not been used here. P. 388 (notes 3 and 4): for *Epist. xxiv* read *Saint Ambroise epist. xxiv* and for *Saint Ambroise Paneg. latini* read *Paneg. latini.* P. 398 (note 1): not the old work of Thalhofer, but the new *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgie* by L. Eisenhofer, 2 vols., 1932-1933, should be cited here. P. 412 (line 23): as I have shown in my article, "A New Study on the Political Role of St. Ambrose," *Catholic Historical Review,* XXII (1936), 304-318, the Latin translation of Josephus men-

tioned here is most probably not the work of St. Ambrose. P. 417 (note 1): on Saint John Chrysostom add here the important study of L. Meyer, *Saint Jean Chrysostome, Maître de perfection chrétienne,* Paris, 1934. P. 472 (line 10 from end): as I have demonstrated in my article mentioned above, St. Ambrose was consecrated, not in 373, but in 374. Pp. 511-512: on the date of the massacre of Thessalonica adopted by Palanque here, see the discussion in my article. I have shown that Palanque's chronology must be rejected. P. 516 (note 3): for *Staehelin,* read *Stähli*n.

Vol. III is, in my opinion, the best of the three books under review. There is almost no overlapping, and each collaborator shows a remarkable mastery over the ancient sources and the modern literature as well as a thorough knowledge of profane and ecclesiastical history. I should like to call particular attention to Palanque's chapters on Constantine the Great (pp. 17-65), to those of Bardy on the variations and decline of Arianism (pp. 131-176, 237-276), and to that of De Labriolle on the beginnings of monasticism with its invaluable table indicating dates, historical facts, places and sources (pp. 299-369). I might add also that the general bibliography at the beginning of the volume is excellent.

I sincerely hope that the minor shortcomings which I have pointed out will not give anyone a bad impression of the new *Histoire de l'Eglise,* which, as I stated at the beginning of this review, is truly a monumental enterprise and one reflecting the highest credit on Catholic scholarship in France. In a second edition of the individual volumes, the slips which I have mentioned, as well as a considerable number of misprints which need not be listed here, can easily be taken care of. In a second edition, too, each volume ought certainly to be furnished with a good index. The present *Tables des Matières* are fairly detailed, but they are a most unsatisfactory substitute for indices.

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Girolamo Da Prato and His Manuscripts of Sulpicius Severus. By BERNARD M. PEEBLES. Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XIII. (Rome: American Academy. 1936. Pp. 65; plates 1-7.)

Quite at the beginning of his elaborate criticism of E. Ch. Babut's *Saint Martin de Tours,* P. Hippolyte Delehaye speaks of the frustration of the efforts he himself had once made to collate the principal manuscripts of the writings concerning this saint, and adds the following remark: "Pour aboutir à un classement sérieux, il faudrait retrouver les témoins italiens cités par De Prato, et avoir à tout le moins une idée sommaire de la tradition espagnole, qui n'a été interrogée jusqu'ici par personne" (*Analecta*

Bollandiana, 1920, XXXVIII, p. 9). It is to the first of these two tasks that the author of the above monograph has addressed himself, and be it said at once that his work manifests a dexterity and sureness of touch which augurs well for any further studies he may undertake in this or any other field. Da Prato's edition of the complete works of Sulpicius Severus (Verona, 1741 and 1750) is distinguished from its predecessors not only by its very exhaustive commentary, but also by the fact that it brought "into play a new group of seven manuscripts, all of Italian origin and representing, in part, an altogether fresh line of tradition" (p. 9), but as might be expected, the eighteenth-century editor's "account of them does not fulfill modern requirements" (p. 10). Hence the desirability of striving to recover them, if possible, and the importance of the attempt, should it prove successful.

Two of Da Prato's manuscripts had already been identified before the author took up his work. Da Prato's *Capitularis*, usually cited in his notes as "Cap.", is the famous semiuncial codex XXXVIII (36) of the Capitular Library of Verona, which Peebles has shown cannot with good reason be assigned to a later date than 517 (*Revue Bénédictine*, 1934, 393-397), and of which seven pages or parts of pages have been included in the splendid collection of plates published by E. Carusi and W. M. Lindsay (*Monumenti paleografici veronesi, I: Semionciale di Ursicino [sec. VI e VII]*, Rome 1929, plates 1-5). His *Codex Bivilaquius* was identified by Giuliari (*La Capitolare Biblioteca di Verona*, 168) as manuscript CXII (105) of the same library. Of the remaining five, two manuscripts, the *Saibantianus* and the *Patavinus* have eluded the author's most strenuous efforts. All the more interest attaches, accordingly, to his discussion of the three codices which he has succeeded in recovering: the *Venetus*, the *Brixianus* and the *Brixianus alter*. To summarize very baldly, Da Prato's *Venetus* is *Vat. lat. 13699*, a paper manuscript written about 1500 (1513 being definitely assigned as the *terminus ante quem*), which in or about 1810 was transferred to the monastery of San Gregorio at Rome from the Camaldulensian Abbey of San Michele at Murano near Venice, and only a few years ago was purchased by the Vatican Library. Da Prato's *Brixianus* is codex *A. VII. 13* of the Biblioteca Civica Queriniana of Brescia, a parchment book of the fifteenth century, and the *Brixianus alter* is codex *B. VI. 21* of the same library, a paper manuscript of about the middle of the same century. I have deliberately called this a bald summary, for the simple reason that it gives no indication of the acuteness of the author's search nor of the sober caution with which his argument proceeds. What he gives us is in reality a very important contribution to the history of scholarship in certain centers of Northern Italy in the eighteenth century, to say nothing of the copious material incorporated in the work on the history of several North Italian libraries, notably the Saibante collection of Verona, the library of the Theatines of Padua, that of the Camaldulensians of San

Michele at Murano and the Queriniana of Brescia. The substantial value of the work is greatly increased by the careful use which the author makes of a rather ample collection of Da Prato's papers discovered by him in the Biblioteca Comunale of Verona in the summer of 1933. He was allowed to reorganize the material, of which a detailed analysis is presented on pages 12-14. Several folders preserved in the Archives of the Verona Oratorians, of which community Da Prato was a member, and finally, Da Prato's own copy of the edition of Sulpicius Severus published at Leipzig in 1709, proved likewise of no slight value to the author in the course of his investigations. Three appendices deserve special mention: the first is a brief sketch of the life and works of Girolamo da Prato; the second, a comparison of the method of chapter enumeration in the *Vita S. Martini* in the *Codex Capitularis* with that of *Paris, B. N. lat. 5582*, which is typical of a large group of manuscripts of French provenience; the third is an edition of two short *Anecdota Martiniana*, poems of twenty verses each, the first being published on the basis of five fifteenth-century manuscripts, the second on the basis of one only: Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, *A. IV. 41*, a parchment book of the fourteenth century.

In the *Bivilaquius* (*Veron. Capit. CXII* [*105*]), there is found on fol. 16v (plate 3) a marginal note which, according to Da Prato's collations, existed or exists also in the unidentified *Saibantianus*, and which for its quaint interest merits transcription here: *hoc ferrum quod gladium vel ensem vulgo appellamus vidi et tetigi ego Madius de madiis, in civitate Verona in domo spectabilium de bivilaquis die Sabati iiij° augusti de mccccxxv°*. As the reader has already surmised, this relic purported to be the sword with which St. Martin divided his cloak in order to share it with the beggar. Just about a century after Maggio Maggi had seen it in the Bevilacqua Palace at Verona, a certain Pellegrino de' Pellegrini wrote (*Veron. Capit. CCXCIV* [*411*], fol. 128r) that this sword was then in the possession of the Franciscans of the "Observance" of the church called *le Carote* (Santa Maria di Arcarotta) about a mile distant from the city. This church was probably destroyed by the Venetians in 1517 when they "cleared a space about a mile wide" round about Verona. But of the fate of the sword nothing is known, and who will vouch for its authenticity?

ANSELM STRITTMATTER, O. S. B.

Rome, Italy.

Roman Britain and the English Settlements. By R. G. COLLINGWOOD and J. N. L. MYRES. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1936. Pp. 515. $5.00.)

This, the first volume in the new *Oxford History of England*, deserves a warm welcome, as it constitutes the most scholarly and well-rounded account of the history of England from Caesar's invasion to the estab-

lishment of the English settlements which has so far appeared. All extant literary, epigraphical and archaeological sources have been thoroughly and critically employed by the authors, both masters in their fields. The work is divided into two distinct parts: Books i-iv, by Professor Collingwood, deal with the Roman period, while Book v (more than a fourth of the whole work), by Professor Myres, is devoted to the English settlements.

In Collingwood's section special attention is called to the detailed account of Roman administration and civilization in Britain from every possible aspect, to the brilliant handling of the problems connected with the end of Roman rule and the subsequent decline of Roman civilization in the island during the second half of the fifth century. In Book v, Myres' emphasis on and study of the problem of continuity between Roman and Saxon England is especially noteworthy. Collingwood's treatment of fifth century Britain combined with that of Myres on the relations between the Roman and Saxon civilizations is unquestionably the most original part of the present volume, and is the best study so far made of this most obscure and difficult period of English history.

The well arranged and copious bibliography (p. 462-489) is exceptionally valuable because the authors have given critical comments on the ancient sources and modern works. The book is equipped also with ten maps and a good index.

On p. 480, line 15, for 1904 read 1894. On p. 296, line 11 ff., through an oversight no source is given either here or on pp. 476-477 for the quoted statement of Ferdinand Lot. His latest views are to be found in his article "La 'Notitia dignitatum utrisque imperii,'" *Revue des Etudes anciennes,* XXXVIII (1936), 285-338. This article is the most important study on the *Notitia dignitatum* since Bury's and must be reckoned with by Collingwood, as Lot assigns the composition of the *Notitia* to an earlier date (379-406-408 A. D.) than Bury (for the western *Notitia,* 428 A. D.).

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Viking Settlers in Greenland and their Descendents during Five Hundred Years. By POUL NORLUND, Ph. D. (London: Cambridge University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. 160. $4.25.)

Viking Enterprise. By SVEN AFEL ANDERSON. [No. 424 in Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. Pp. 164. $2.25.)

Both historian and the general reader will find this first book fascinating. Dr. Norlund, Keeper of Mediaeval Antiquities at the Danish National Museum and Member of the Commission for Scientific Research in Green-

land, adds to the story of the Greenland settlers, as handed down to us by such ancient sources as *Eric the Red's Saga*, the *Flateyjarbok* and *The King's Mirror*, information acquired from his own systematic archaeological investigation begun with his excavations at Herjolfsnes in 1921 and since 1932 continued under the leadership of Aage Roussell. Because the findings of these men and their collaborators have been published in scientific form in the series "Meddelelser Om Grønland," and in English, the author has given "the principal results without scientific apparatus" or frequent reference to sources. The basis for his presentation is not the sagas and other literary sources but archaeological research. No one who reads this book will dispute Dr. Norlund's statement that the archaeological remains "speak a language just as eloquent as any saga."

The story of Erick the Red's discovery of Greenland in 985 or 986, of the coming of settlers who "swarmed out to Greenland, tired of conditions in Iceland," and of the land-holding system and political institutions down to 1261, when Greenland became part of the Norwegian Realm, is told in the first chapter. The second tells the story of the introduction of Christianity into Greenland by Lief Erickson, the building of churches and monasteries, the establishment of the episcopal see of Gardar in 1126 and something about its encumbents down to the Reformation. There were twelve parish churches in the East Settlement and four in the West Settlement. The sites of twelve churches have been rediscovered. The oldest ruin (about 1100-1150) is that of the church of Brattahlid in the East Settlement, excavated in 1932. There are excellent photographs of ruins and drawings showing the plans of six Greenland Norse churches and of the episcopal seat at Gardar; also photographs of graves, four rings of bronze and gold—at least one an episcopal ring—and the head of a crozier of walrus ivory exquisitely carved. The author believes, with reason, that it is the crozier of Bishop Jon Smyrill (1209) whose remains were found buried in the north chapel of the Cathedral. It is probable that church art and architecture came from the Scottish Isles rather than from Norway.

In a chapter entitled "Life on the Homesteads" the author presents a fund of information about climate, population, foods, flora, cattle and other animals, fish-meats, dairy products, metals, dwellings, household articles, water supply and "bathrooms".

Navigation to Greenland supplies the subject matter of the fourth chapter, in which also is discussed Karlsevni's attempt to reach Leif's Vinland, the true whereabouts of which will probably never be ascertained. There is something thrilling in the stories of the viking seamen who had no charts, no nautical instruments, and, at least until the thirteenth century, no compass to guide them through starless nights, through storms and fogs. Probably the most startling information in the book is the description of the Herjolfsnes garments found in the graves about the Herjolfsnes

church built near the sea. The Commission for Scientific Research in Greenland, in collaboration with the National Museum of Copenhagen, have made excavations since 1921. They have found every day clothes made of coarse twilled frieze, men and women's garments, stockings, liripipe hoods in European style, in all probability of the thirteenth century. Subsequent chapters on the Scraelings and the fifteenth-century decline close the story of the early Norsemen in Greenland.

There is a brief bibliography and a general index to persons, places, things and illustrations. In the reviewer's judgment, the excellent illustrations and drawings are themselves worth the price of this very illuminating and interesting volume

A glance through the excellent bibliography of Mr. Anderson's monograph will give assurance of the riches of both primary and secondary sources for the viking period and of the perennial interest in viking history. His study is well documented with numerous references to primary sources and to secondary works. The author accepts Liestol's judgment that "the sagas are our most important sources of information regarding life and customs of those times, and are of immense historical value for the study not only of Iceland, but of Scandinavian and even German culture."

As stated in the author's preface, "the purpose of the present study is to elucidate in a realistic way the viking traffic and possibly contribute a chapter to economic history." Four chapters are devoted to the material background, social order, population, ships, organization and tactics. In the chapter entitled, "Material background", the author gives some brief but illuminating information on a variety of topics: agriculture, hunting, fishing, trade with the outside world during a thousand years before the viking period, the institution of fairs and trade marts, means of exchange, etc.

The sidelights on the social order are interesting. The kings, elected by the landed classes for an indefinite period, might be deposed, and were not regarded as rulers who could do no wrong. Real feudalism never existed in Scandinavia proper. During the viking period the great landed middle class, the "bonder," lost ground. Well done is the description of viking military tactics and viking ships, some of which were even larger than Olav Tryggvason's "Long Serpent" which carried 250 warriors.

Three chapters deal with viking operations in "Gardarik," the viking term for present-day Russia, in Constantinople, the islands of Northwestern Europe and the western shores of the Continent. Everywhere "desire for plunder was present in strong relief." Constantinople as well as the West paid tribute to the vikings or attempted to buy them off with gifts. An attack on Constantinople by the Verangians in 860 was the occasion of an encyclical by the Patriarch Photius who declared that the "Rhos" are "a people which surpasses all others in ferocity and blood-thirstiness." Vladimir, son and successor of Svyatoslav, "the first

prince to bear a genuinely Slavonian name," became ruler of the whole principality of Kiev. It is regrettable that Mr. Anderson has betrayed his religious bias by the invidious statement that "Vladimir became known not only as the great and insatiable fornicator, but also as the man who introduced Christianity into Russia" (p. 94). The statement in the *M. G. H.* quoted by Mr. Anderson obviously refers to the earlier pagan period of Vladimir's life. After his conversion (c. 988) he not only established churches and monasteries in Russia but also so lived that the Russian Orthodox and Ruthenian Greek Churches honor him on his feast, July 15, as Ravnoapostol, i. e., equal to the Apostles.

The chapter on viking raids, conquests and influence in England, Ireland and Scotland is, in the judgment of this reviewer, the best in the book. The reader will find in *Viking Enterprise* a readable, interesting and a reliable summary of an important phase of European history. There is a good index to proper names and places.

CARL H. MEINBERG.

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La Réforme Grégorienne, T. III, L'Opposition Antigrégorienne. By AUGUSTIN FLICHE. (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, fasc. 16. 1937. Pp. viii, 367.)

In the third volume of his study of the Gregorian Reform, Fliche again demonstrates his familiarity not only with the sources of the age, but also with the vast secondary literature dealing with the religious and political crisis of the tenth and eleventh centuries. He continues to follow the method adopted in volume I, *La formation des Idées grégoriennes*, and volume II, *Grégoire VII* (Louvain 1924 and 1926, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, fasc. 6 and 9), in tracing the development of the Gregorian legend and of the theories that inspired the antagonists in the conflict between Papacy and Empire, rather than in giving a detailed picture of the flow of historical events. In this study of the content and sources of the writings of the opponents of Gregory VII he, however, as in the two preceding volumes, correlates the shift of controversial emphasis to the events of reality. In this connection Fliche's study of the changing viewpoints of Henry IV between 1076 and 1085 and his critique of the character and policies of Victor III are eminently noteworthy.

The particular value of the volume under discussion lies, however, in the analysis of the origin, growth, and application of original theories. Some of these novel theories were indeed destined to have a far-reaching influence on the political thinking and policies of the future. That is especially true of those propounded by Peter Crassus in his *Defensio Heinrici regis*, which presents the imperial viewpoint in the controversy. Peter argues for the principle of hereditary absolutism. He draws his

arguments mainly from Roman law and history, and supports his conclusions by texts from Sacred Scripture and the Fathers. With this treatise the Code Justinian and the Institutes also began to emerge from the obscurity of the still insignificant Italian schools. With the apparent success of Henry IV in 1085, dreams of the reëstablishment of the ancient Roman Empire also revived. Before 1805 the emperor received appeals to save Italy and to establish his capital in Rome; after the taking of the city he is called upon by Benzo of Alba in his *Liber ad Heinricum* to conquer the Mediterranean lands and to deliver Jerusalem.

The purely ecclesiastical and disciplinary policies of Gregory found even more antagonists. The German bishops tended to voice their objections mainly against the papal power of excommunication and against the pontiff's absolution from the oath of allegiance. Wido of Osnabrueck went still further to deny the validity of a papal election without the confirmation of the candidate by the emperor. Cardinal Beno, in his *Gesta Romanae ecclesiae contra Hildebrandum*, a virulent critic of Gregory, takes Gregory to task for infringing on the holy canons by not using the cardinals in the administration of the Church. Although the reason advanced by the pamphleteer, a forged decree of Lucius I, may be baseless, the next century was nevertheless to see the creation of a permanent council of cardinals—the consistory becoming an integral part of papal administration. Minds were also intent on seeking a way out of the impasse. Wido of Ferrara, a former partisan of Gregory, later a companion of Clement III, after stating the arguments for and against Gregory, closes his *De scismate Hildebrandi* with a novel theory of the double function of episcopal power—spiritual and secular. This distinction he draws with remarkable precision. The bishops owe the temporal authority the same obedience as laymen because they have only the usufruct of the goods that belong to the king. But who is to appoint the bishop? Wido is not definite. Sometimes he holds that the king is to confirm him in the possession of the temporalities after his appointment; at other times he seems to think that the king is to make the nomination. In fact, the king is really not a layman; he is the elect of God, having authority in the Church as Moses who was not a priest, had in Israel.

Fliche has sifted a mass of primary and secondary data. Years of research primarily dedicated to the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries have made him one of the outstanding authorities on the period. He has again succeeded in making a contribution to the most controversial period in medieval history. One may, at times, not entirely agree with his vigorous conclusions, but one must respect his scholarship and his mastery of the subject.

VICTOR GELLHAUS.

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Saggi di storia economica italiana. By AMINTORE FANFANI. (Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica di Milano, serie terza: Scienze sociali, vol. XVI.) (Milano: Società editrice "Vita e pensiero." 1936. Pp. 303.)

The jurist, the demographer, the political annalist, the historian of business and manners, trade and finance, the toponymist, the mining engineer, even the dialectologist, will find this work of particular interest. Here it is shown that in Italy economic historiography is a branch of writing of comparatively recent emergence; that it has been spared thus far the *crise de croissance* (or shall I say the *examen de conscience*) of involved discussions about methods; and finally, that there cannot be yet, as far as Italy is concerned, an *Überwindung* of economism like Troeltsch's *Überwindung* of historicism. Fanfani's methodological invention is as enviable as is the congruity of his procedures in spite of the difficulties he has had to encounter. The lack of hard and fast categories gives to his investigations an accent and a vigor which are a desideratum in German studies of the pre-war era. Arresting, also, is the healthy ingratitude which he has for Sombart. "The study of eight commercial transactions negotiated by the Arezzo merchant, Lazzaro di Giovanni di Feo Bracci, from January, 1931, to March, 1932, authorizes Fanfani to conclude that Sombart's opinion regarding pre-capitalism and capitalism appears to be anything but founded" (p. 14). Fanfani also refutes Sombart's statement that it was only as late as the first half of the XVth century that inns appeared in the great cities, especially in those which were centers of business fairs, by showing that in the XIIth and XIIIth century Italian inns were anything but rare, that they became very common in the XIVth century, and that regulations were issued by the cities to bring their activity under legal control.

Noteworthy, also, is Fanfani's "textural" sense. He never sees a question, even when seemingly of a limited import, cut off from its junctures, isolated from the general texture of the problems. Neither does he consider it beneath his dignity to stoop occasionally to pick up a field-flower starring in lonesome beauty along the severe, rectilinear road of the history of accountancy. An example of this may be found on page 5 where he speaks of that fascinating figure, Lazzaro di Giovanni di Feo Bracci, who had a counting house in Pisa at the beginning of the XIVthe century.

My repeated mentions of Sombart must not create the erroneous impression that Fanfani's book is shot through with the motifs of a polemic *ad hominem*. The general tone of the book is given by the author's zeal for truth, his attempt to go beyond the tracts explored, the claims preempted, his lucid passion for new interpretation, clarification and augmentation of knowledge. In the chapter entitled, "The domestic economy

of the Peruzzi and of their partners," the findings of Fanfani bring new evidence in support of certain customs and traits of Florentine family-life during the Middle Ages. Fresh ground, also, is broken in his study of charity in a Tuscan Commune from the XIIIth to the XVth century. Here he deals with the manner in which charity was administered by the Fraternità of Borgo San Sepolcro during the years when the Commune still enjoyed a certain political autonomy and before its vicissitudes were confused with those of Florence, to whose rule it had to submit when it was ceded to it by Pope Eugene IV. Fanfani utilizes the records of the Fraternità, especially of the so-called "Specchio" of Ser Francesco dei Largi, which he regards as a most important and irreplaceable source for the history of manners, private property, names, topography and morals of an Italian *contado* as well as for the study of an historical phase of a characteristic Umbro-Tuscan dialect.

The two most substantial studies of Fanfani's book are those entitled "Demographic aspects of economic policy in the Dukedom of Milan (1386-1535)," and "Mining industry in Lombardy during the Spanish domination." The first in particular deserves special notice.

Interesting, also, are the remarks which Fanfani borrows from G. Volpe, concerning the influence of historical events as reflected by the regulation of mines, an influence visible in the transformation of the way in which the owner's right to the subsoil was conceived during late Roman times, the barbaric invasions, the Middle Ages, the period of revival of Roman law studies and the consolidation of modern monarchies (p. 180). His treatment of the history of mining technology, with the quotation (pp. 209-210), of the seventieth discourse of the *Piazza Universale* of Tommaso Garzoni, gives a clear picture of the state of mining technique in the seventeenth century.

The last chapter of this book deals with the social problems in Italy before 1900. It is a pithy "*scorcio*," well fortified with figures, but suffering from excessive compression. His work taken as a whole, however, is a worthy *pendant* to his "Origins of the capitalistic spirit in Italy," and is distinguished by the same substantial scholarship. The new work surpasses in depth its predecessor, although the latter work outstrips the former in amplitude of viewpoint, and in theoretical range.

The Catholic University of America. ELIO GIANTURCO.

The Early Stuarts (1603-1660). By GODFREY DAVIES. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1937. Pp. xxi, 452. $5.00.)

This excellent volume by a member of the Research Staff of the Huntington Library and compiler of bibliographical works on seventeenth century English history is the fifth to appear in the new Oxford series. Chapters

on religious, social and economic history, foreign trade and colonies, education and science, comprising somewhat less than half the book clarify the political narrative and add a great deal of important information about a society in the midst of social and economic as well as political and religious change. Without underestimating the importance of social and economic factors, the author feels that "the puritan revolution, unlike the French Revolution, was not primarily a social movement but a political and religious movement" (p. 260). The High-Church tendencies of the Laudian party became political issues to the puritan parliamentarians because the king "championed the bishops against their puritan critics in parliament, while the bishops in their turn adopted enthusiastically the theory of the divine right of kings and preached passive obedience" (p. 69).

Though Catholics had no direct concern with the struggle between Anglican monarchy and Puritan parliament or between Erastian Presbyterianism and Independency, many Catholics espoused the royalist cause during the civil war and suffered accordingly. Both James I and Charles I had been inclined somewhat spasmodically to ease their lot although public opinion was hostile. Moreover, it is the author's contention that despite Drogheda, Cromwell and the Independents were more tolerantly inclined than the Presbyterians.

Catholic scholars should heed the statement that "a modern history of Roman Catholicism in the seventeenth century is urgently needed" (p. 422). Documentation and critical bibliography give evidence of the author's acquaintance with a wide range of contemporary and modern literature. To the bibliography should be added *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution* (1638-1647), ed. William Haller, 3 vols., New York, 1934. Eight maps, a table of contents and an index complete this creditable addition to the series.

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN.

New York University.

The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the Accession of James I to the Convention of the Long Parliament (1603-1640). By W. K. JORDAN. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1936. Pp. 542. $5.00.)

This, the second of a series of three projected studies on the development of religious toleration in England since the Reformation, consists of detailed analyses of the theoretical and actual position with regard to toleration of all dominant and many minor religious groups during the reign of the early Stuarts. Based on the study of a mass of pertinent material, primarily the writings of contemporary publicists, admirably presented in the light of contemporary political and religious develop-

ments, it is a significant contribution to seventeenth-century ecclesiastical history.

The "noble system of comprehension which Elizabeth had framed" (p. 314) failed under the early Stuarts partly because of the ineptitude and unpopularity of royal policy, partly because the established church was split into two bitterly antagonistic factions: the Puritans and that powerful minority led by Archbishop Laud whom Dr. Jordan describes as Anglo-Catholics. The alliance of Charles I with the latter party laid the "certain basis of revolution" (p. 117). Not only did it further alienate the Puritans, strongly represented in Parliament and already aroused by James I's leniency toward Catholics and by his pro-Spanish foreign policy, but it "deeply disturbed thoughtful men who were devoted to the Anglican church" (p. 143). Since the Puritans as a result were resolved "to transform the Church of England into a national Church after their own ideals" (p. 214) from which they would allow no dissent, the grounds for intolerance and persecution are not far to seek.

But although toleration in fact fared badly under these circumstances, Dr. Jordan finds many who at least theoretically held or approached a position above the animosities of an intolerant period. While many Puritans in opposition to Laud's policy were driven to embrace intolerant Presbyterianism, most Separatist groups approached an ideal of toleration without, however, entirely divesting themselves of the Calvinistic principle of rigid church organization, or of their hostility toward Anglicanism and Catholicism. Baptist apologists, separated from the general trend of Calvinistic thought, "made profoundly important contributions to the theory of religious toleration" (p. 314). Catholics made "a less significant contribution" than during the Elizabethan period, though the now aged Persons "was prepared to admit toleration as a general principle when a persistent religious group defied the aims of persecution" (p. 505).

It is among the laymen and moderates, the Latitudinarians within the Anglican fold, the rationalists and sceptics without, that Dr. Jordan finds the foremost champions of toleration. Profoundly influenced by contemporary Dutch Arminianism, tolerant from conviction rather than from expediency, and opposed to any dogmatic theological position, they sought in vain to disperse the menacing clouds of religious strife.

Since the attitude toward Catholicism constitutes an excellent test of tolerant sentiments, considerable space is allotted to an analysis of the Stuart policy of leniency toward Catholics. Dr. Jordan finds James I more genuinely tolerant than Charles I and his Oath of Allegiance (1606) "an honest effort to distinguish the loyal from the disloyal recusants and to lighten the burdens of the former group" (p. 75). He finds it "difficult to see how any reasonable man could have refused to take [the oath] on grounds of conscience" (*ibid.*). Reference to the article "Oaths" in

the *Catholic Encyclopedia* might have led him to modify such statements. A fuller explanation of the terms of the Oath should have been included. Moreover the designation of the two English Catholic groups as the "spiritual (lay) group" and the "political (missionary) group" is misleading. But Dr. Jordan does admit that "one must, indeed sympathize to some degree with the policy of the Jesuits whose dream of re-converting England would have to be renounced for ever if the missionary programme were terminated" (p. 87).

Dr. Jordan prefers the "noble temper of the moderates" and the "remarkable sanity and tolerance of the Elizabethan ecclesiastical policy." Catholics will not agree with all his conclusions, but they will be grateful for this fully documented masterly presentation of important material and will anticipate the forthcoming third volume.

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN.

New York University.

Voltaire. By ALFRED NOYES. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1936. Pp. 643. $3.50.)

It is a difficult task to include within the compass of some six hundred pages an adequate estimate of a man who lived to be almost a nonagenarian and whose writings amount to about one hundred volumes. It was perhaps a more difficult task for a Catholic writer to attempt to lift the veil which has separated Voltaire from his numerous enemies and to place him on a more human and Christian pedestal. Mr. Noyes has brilliantly succeeded in his attempt at rehabilitation. Let us hope that the long hours he spent reading the entire works of this prolific writer will not bring him only material rewards.

With a feeling of confidence, the reader is guided through the events of Voltaire's long life. He learns in a poetic way of his youth, education, friends and enemies, his successes in different literary genres, his years of exile and the magnificent ovation which the French people gave him on his return to Paris. The strain proved too great for the man "living on his brain and nerves." The patriarch of Ferney gave up the fight in 1778 in that very city of Paris where he was born in 1694, under the name of François-Marie Arouet. Incidentally, Mr. Noyes might have pointed out that, according to the latest research, the name Voltaire was made "by interchanging the syllables of Airvault, a village in Poitou where some of his relatives owned property."

As a precocious youth, Voltaire was fortunate to receive his education from the best teachers of the time, the Jesuits. Like Descartes, he made fun of their learning and complained, quite irrelevantly, that he learned

"little but Latin and nonsense." His success, however, like that of many others who were privileged to attend these French Jesuit institutions, bears out the undeniable testimony that the system of education was excellent. From his teachers to whom he was devoted, he acquired several characteristics which endear him to any unprejudiced mind. A happy choice of quotations is given by the author to prove that Voltaire was constant in his affections, charitable in his actions, shrewd in his financial dealings and religious in his own way.

Voltaire's literary fortune is an interesting one. Not all of his writings, critics agree, are masterpieces; but few, if any, are wearisome when one considers the purpose and occasion for which they were written. Voltaire was too brilliant and enjoyed too wide a reputation to write in a mediocre style. Unfortunately, Mr. Noyes does not fully demonstrate the "stylistic methods by which Voltaire obtained his effects," nor does he bring out the reaction of his contemporaries towards his writings. Nevertheless, he has happily drawn from, and translated selections of, his immense correspondence and other works. He has also discovered in his dramas new elements which would have surprised the minds of his time.

Mr. Noyes devotes considerable space to Voltaire's friends and enemies. From his romantic episode with "Pimpette" to the apparently noble friendship with Mme. du Châtelet, we see Voltaire enjoying the confidence and hospitality of intellectuals and aristocrats in France, England and Germany. But his fine sense of discrimination and justice did not limit his friendship to the upper classes only; he made friends with the oppressed people, as his participation in the Calas, La Barre and Sirven cases proves. Voltaire was less fortunate in his relations with the clergy of the time. Some of the French ecclesiastics were not worthy of their spiritual mission. Voltaire knew it and he attacked their abuses bitterly. In return, he was accused of being an enemy of the Church, an atheist, at best a Deist. But "Voltaire," states Mr. Noyes, "believed in God. No man ever believed in God more firmly; and he believed in God's justice." On the other hand, theologians might take issue with Mr. Noyes's condemnation of these same ecclesiastics who refused the sacraments and a Christian burial to a man whose Catholicism did not conform with the teachings of the Church.

The book is well written. It will serve to destroy the legend that Voltaire was an atheist. At times, Mr. Noyes overstates his case, but this new aspect was needed. The author has fortunately omitted bibliographical references in his book which is intended not only for the general reader but also for the student of literature.

PAUL A. BARRETTE.

Saint Louis University.

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The Foreign Policy of Czechoslovakia, 1918-1935. By FELIX JOHN VONDRACEK, PH. D. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. 451. $5.00.)

After the World War a whole row of seemingly new republics were created both in Central Europe and around the Baltic Sea: Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland. As a matter of fact, these are not new republics. Czechslovakia with its capital Praha is an old Kingdom which many years ago was called Bohemia. Now it has united under one flag all Czechs and Slovaks. Also Poland was an ancient kingdom which was partitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria, these powers taking advantage of the French Revolution, when the hands of France were bound and it was unable to aid its friend, Poland. Lithuania in its time was a great Grand-Duchy which in the fourteenth century was united with Poland for the purpose of common defense against the invasions of the Teutonic knights and gave the united kingdom the dynasty of the Jagelons. The territory of the present republic of Latvia includes the famous Duchy of Courland and the Duchies of Livonia and Latgalia, all populated by Latvians who are now united under the coat-of-arms crowned by three stars. The capital of Latvia is Riga. Estonia used to be a federal part of the independent State of the Livonian Order. Finland was an autonomous Duchy within ancient Sweden. After the fall of Napoleon, when the political cards of Europe were reshuffled, Sweden was compelled to give Finland over to Russia, but even then Finland retained extensive autonomous rights.

These countries are inhabited by races of ancient culture. The Czechs, Slovaks and Poles are true Slavs, but the Latvians and Lithuanians have nothing in common with Slavs: they form the Baltic branch of the Indo-Germanic race and their language is derived directly from the ancient Sanscrit. The Finns and Estonians belong to the Finno-Ugric race. Czechs, Slovaks, Poles and Lithuanians are principally Roman Catholics; Latvians, Estonians and Finns are chiefly Lutherans.

All these nations are completely consolidated, ethnographical, cultural and political units having their own territories and economic systems. They were liberated from foreign oppression by the World War. These peoples themselves fought bravely in the Great War for their freedom. As early as in 1915 the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles and Latvians formed their own military units which fought on the side of the Allies and suffered heavy losses. Finally, in 1918, these nations gained their independence. Durin the past twenty years they have developed a highly cultural life and are all firm supporters of world peace. They all belong to the League of Nations.

Many books have been written about these countries, and to them recently has been added *The Foreign Policy of Czechoslovakia, 1918-1935*, by Felix John Vondracek. This is a scientifically and impartially written book which gives not only a detailed review of the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia but also a survey of the political history of Europe of this period. The book includes a very valuable list of sources and complete bibliography. It also contains a good map of Czechoslovakia.

The author is cautious in his conclusions and always mentions the sources from which he has drawn information or upon the basis of which he has formed his conclusions. The book may be divided into two sections: 1, the political history of Europe resp. Czechoslovakia until "The Depression" (pages 1-304), and 2, after "The Depression" (pages 305-451), when the life of Europe and its political history begins to pulsate incorrectly. The author completes his treatise with December 18, 1935, when the hero of his interesting book, Dr. E. Beneš, one of the great statesmen of Europe and famed Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, was elected second President of the country after Professor Massarik had resigned, owing to his great age. But the lines of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy are definitely drawn and a lasting foundation has been laid for this policy.

Whereas the first part of the book is of greater value as a source of history and may truly be considered a manual for students of the history of Central Europe, the second part of the book, beginning with "The Depression," touches upon all the most important problems of present-day Europe. It will be of use to everyone who desires to become well-acquainted with the causes leading to recent political events.

The book will be of great interest also to Roman Catholic readers, for the great majority of Czechoslovaks—10 million out of a population of 14 million—are Roman Catholics. The author describes how Dr. Beneš in the treaty of February 2, 1928, definitely settled relations with the Vatican, attaining a solution of the problem of relations between State and Church agreeable to both sides.

It is to be hoped that the author will continue this work and that we may expect a new volume regarding the events from December 18, 1935, to October 18, 1938, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Czechoslovakia. This book is bound to take a prominent place among the sources of political history. It would be greatly desirable to have similar books regarding the political history of the other new republics, thus forming a series or an encyclopaedia which could be continued regularly.

ALFRED BILMANIS.

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The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603. By J. B. BLACK. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1936. Pp. vii, 448. Maps. $5.00.)

This is the third volume to appear in the *Oxford History of England,* which when completed will form a continuous history of England from the Roman Period to the present time. Because the reign of Elizabeth looms so large on the horizon of English history this volume is one of the most important of the series. In it Elizabeth emerges as the enigma which she really was, and hence it should not be classed with such panegyrics as, for instance, J. A. Neale's recent biography of Elizabeth.

Unfortunately, however, the author does not fully understand the religious situation of the sixteenth century, since he falls into the same error which characterizes the writings of so many others, namely, the failure to distinguish between the sixteenth-century government and the sixteenth-century English people. The government did *not* represent the general religious feeling, and hence the change from the Old Faith to the new was not the soulless thing of Professor Black's creation.

The same over-simplification marks his treatment of the contemporary French religious situation. This is all the more extraordinary when one reads his account of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, pages 126-128. Undoubtedly, Professor Black is relying on notes the like of which reputable historians have long ago discarded. His treatment of Ireland is also unfortunate. On page 398 he says that the "fire of religious fanaticism" which had been kindled on the island was partly responsible for the later general uprising!

There are a few inaccuracies, such as the statement that the Earl of Exeter took part in the Ridolfi plot, when there was no Earl of Exeter living in 1569, and that the Earl of Ormonde was Lord Deputy of Ireland in December, 1597. The bibliography fails to give many important works by Catholics. There are several interesting maps, a table of contents and a good index.

JOSEPH B. CODE.

The Catholic University of America.

La Obra civilizadora de la Iglesia en Colombia. By J. M. FERNÁNDEZ, S. J. and RAFAEL GRANADOS, S. J. (Bogotá: Librería Voluntad, S. A. 1936. Pp. 771.)

At last the historians of Hispanic America are beginning to give us substantial and at the same time scholarly contributions which reveal the history of the Church in the colonizing activities in that vast region and in the hundred years which have elapsed since the winning of independence. Church history has usually been so involved in the general account of the

discovery and conquest as to be indistinguishable, while very few efforts have been made heretofore to recount the rôle of the Church in the century of independent existence of the Hispanic American republics.

This particular work comes from the pen of two Colombian Jesuits. It is natural that Colombia should be the nation in which an undertaking of the scope of this volume should be attempted. The position of the Church in the intellectual life of Colombia has always been high, and perhaps no Spanish republic owes more to the Society of Jesus that this country. At the present time the well known Jesuit university in Bogotá, the Javeriana, is considered one of the seats of learning of greatest prestige on the continent. Colombia embraces on the other hand almost every form of activity in which the Church could take part: missionary labor, social action, education, and intellectual production. It is the purpose of the two authors of this bulky volume to trace in what they call in the preface a "synthetic panorama" the work of the Catholic Church in Colombia in behalf of culture and civilization from the beginnings of the colonial period to the present.

The first section is strictly historical and chronological. It follows an order somewhat similar to that of the work of Father Guillermo Furlong on the influence of the Church in the cultural evolution of the Rio de la Plata region. The authors treat first of all the place of the Church in the conquest, a field which is generally so well-known that another account runs the risk of repetition. Treated very briefly, it summarizes the series of events with which the Catholic Church was formally instituted on the soil of Colombia. Of greater novelty is the treatment of the work of the Church in this territory. In view of the greater emphasis which for one reason or another has been placed on the Church in Peru and in Mexico, the panorama of the labor in Colombia is enormously revealing. One sees in rapid order the variety and intensity of missionary efforts among the tribes of the Andes and trans-Andean Colombia. The importance of the Church in colonial education, in the purely cultural life of the viceroyalty of Santa Fe de Bogotá is hard to overemphasize. Realizing that down to our times the Church has never relinquished its predominant position in the development of Colombian culture, it is not surprising to find clerical activity in the study and investigation of natural history, indigeneous languages, history, and medicine.

The long period of the struggles for independence affected Colombia as much if not more than any other section of the continent. Bogotá was the center of the super-state which Simón Bolívar dreamed of creating in northern South America. From the earliest years until 1822 Colombia was the scene of the bitterest controversies with the Spanish authorities. It was for the eight years following 1822 the center of the structure known as the Greater Colombia of such short duration. The Church was ever

present during these critical years. The idea that the clergy of Hispanic America was in its majority antagonistic to independence has long been discarded as untenable. The French historian, André Marius, has summarized in his admirable little volume, *La Fin de l'Empire espagnol en Amérique,* the principal pieces of evidence to prove that the clergy in many instances was the moving spirit in the movement for complete independence. The Jesuit authors quote case after case and cleric after cleric to demonstrate that in Colombia the Church gave full and unswerving support to the effort to establish a separate government. Not that the clergy acted unanimously, of course, but with sufficient strength to make possible the assertion that the supposed opposition to separation was simply not existent. The treatment of the clergy under the republic is much briefer, although by no means less interesting. The republican history of Colombia is a long account of strife and anti-clericalism. Violent enemies of the Church as Obando, Mosquera, and López were offset by such Catholic statesman as Ospina and Rafael Nuñez.

The bulk of the volume is devoted to the religious orders. The list is long, including the Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, Lazarists, Salesians, Marists, Augustinians and others. This second section is rich in the detail of valiant service to the cause of civilization both under the colony and under the republic. The final section treats of the regional or geographical labors of the Church, divided according to departments.

The nature of this volume is such as to make difficult anything like a blanket critique. It is lacking in source references and in bibliographies, being destined apparently, more as an exposé of the civilizing influence of the Church in Colombia than as a scholarly treatise. Works of this synthetic character help to make more understandable the innumerable isolated personnages and events which makes up the ecclesiastical history of Hispanic America. Fathers Fernández and Granados have done an excellent piece of work which proves once more how much Colombia owes to the Society.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

Unhappy Spain. By PIERRE CRABITÈS. (Baton Rouge, La.: State University Press. 1937. Pp. 234. $2.50.)

It is too early to hope for an adequate account of the present conflict in Spain. But books such as this will help provide an historical setting without which contemporary events cannot be fully understood. Pierre Crabitès traces the history of Spain from Ferdinand VII, but with the exception of a very short chapter (XIX) this is as far back as he goes. The root of the present trouble lies deeper in Spanish history than in the

Bourbon restoration of 1874. No one can afford to ignore the social aspects of the case, the revolutionary liberalism which not only had affected the intellectual classes but had dominated the schools, or the influence of Islam in determining the national character of modern Spain.

It is true that the Islamic factor is dealt with in chapter XIX but not sufficiently so when one considers the amount of space which is given to the struggle between Catholicism and Freemasonry of the Grand Orient type. Perhaps a better title would have been "Freemasonry in Spain." The book is no more than this. But because it is just this it is a worthwhile contribution to a better understanding of Spain.

Pierre Crabitès refuses to interpret the Spanish conflict in terms of Fascism and Communism, and rightly so. In this he is at variance with the secular press which has distinguished itself by falling into so obvious a reduction, which is an absurdity at the same time. With a background which peculiarly fits him to write on things Spanish, he should be urged to prepare a more balanced account of the present case. There is an index, and the binding deserves special praise.

JOSEPH B. CODE.

The Catholic University of America.

The Catholic Church on the Nebraska Frontier, 1854-1885. By SISTER M. AQUINATA (MARTIN), O. P., Ph. D., (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America. 1937. Pp. ix, 202.)

This doctoral dissertation, the latest of a series of admirable *Studies in American Church History* published by the Catholic University of America, is a volume in reality largely given over to the general social and economic conditions on the Nebraska frontier with an account of the part Catholics played. The reason for the lack of greater emphasis on the Church is readily understood in view of the dearth of available material.

The author has done an excellent piece of work. The pre-Civil War years found Nebraska a speculator's paradise. Squatters and town builders flourished. This unstable period of "inflated beginning" was characterized by a floating population and frontier Godlessness. The few following years found the new territory a great thoroughfare and still lacking permanent settlers. The latter part of the decade brought not only the Union Pacific Railroad, with its construction camps, but also permanent settlers and a new awakening in the spiritual life of the population. The seventies and eighties represent the real home making period, however, with attendant growth of the Church. The epoch was broken by the retrogression caused by the panic of 1873 and the scourge of grasshoppers of 1874. The latter is especially well treated in this dissertation. The author has not only

exhausted the sources dealing directly with the Catholic Church, but has utilized all available material on the other religious bodies and has skillfully applied her findings to the Catholic Church. Her research has been wide and the work is scholarly. It is a real contribution to the historical literature of the Northern Plains. The usefulness of the volume, however, would have been increased by a more complex index.

EVERETT DICK.

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A History of Catholic Education in the United States. By the Very Rev. J. A. BURNS, C. S. C., Ph. D., and BERNARD J. KOHLBRENNER, M. A. (New York: Benziger Bros. 1937. Pp. xi, 295. $3.20.)

This book which deals with the history of Catholic education in the United States from the earliest days to the present is based on the two works of the Very Rev. James A. Burns, C. S. C., *The Principles, Origin and Establishment of the Catholic School System in the United States* (1908), and *The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States* (1912). For some time there has been an increasing demand for a text on the history of American Catholic education for use particularly in college and normal schools. Unfortunately, this book falls short of what has been desired by teachers and others interested in the growth and development of our Catholic schools. Lack of intelligence on the part of the publishers and a regrettable carelessness on the part of the revisers renders almost worthless, without constant caution, what might have been an important contribution to our knowledge of one chapter in the history of the American Church.

First of all, the publishers must assume some responsibility for the discrepancy between the contents as listed on the dust jacket, and what is actually in the text. Not only do captions differ in several instances but chapter 8 on the dust packet is actually part of chapter 6 in the text, whereas chapter 12 on the dust jacket is not to be found at all in the book. Neither is the text divided into parts as the dust jacket declares. Just how far the publishers are to blame for this is a question, but the present reviewer called attention to a like deficiency in a book on Catholic education issued by the same publishing house not long ago.

When one examines the text itself one finds it riddled with mistakes, some merely annoying but many of such a serious nature that they should not be passed over in any critical review. This is not surprising, however, when one considers the faulty method which the revisers apparently used. It seems that the two Burns' volumes were examined independently of each other, for where the present work depends upon the first volume for its

material it reproduces mistakes which the author had corrected in his second book. Where it depends upon the latter the information is generally correct. Thus on page 79 of Burns-Kohlbrenner one reads that the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary remained in Philadelphia until their convent was burned by Native American rioters in 1844, when they went to Dubuque, whereas on page 128 it is stated that the sisters arrived in Dubuque in 1843. The first statement is based on volume one of Burns, pp. 263-264; the second, on volume two, p. 26. 1843 and not 1844 is the correct year for the B. V. M. exodus to Dubuque.

One likes to believe that carelessness alone is responsible for placing the foundation of the Georgetown Visitation Convent under the paragraph heading "Pennsylvania Elementary Schools" (p. 70). The error regarding the exact presence of the Georgetown Poor Clares in this country (p. 75) is understandable since it is common to the works of Shea and the majority of his successors who have written on the history of the American sisterhoods. The first sisters' school in the original United States was opened in September, 1798, and not in 1801 (p. 75). As to the Visitandines, the successors of the Poor Clares in Georgetown, it is stated (p. 75) that in 1799 they had opened the first free school in the District of Columbia, preceding the first free public school by six years. The fact of the matter is that the "free school or benevolent school" was founded by Father Joseph P. de Clorivière who had not reached Georgetown until January 13, 1818. (LATHROP, *A Story of Courage*, pp. 199, 201, 286).

Likewise are there mistakes regarding the foundation dates of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, Charleston, South Carolina (p. 93), and of the Dominican Sisters of Sinsinawa, Wisconsin (p. 86); the former were founded in 1829, not in 1830, and the latter in 1847, not in 1848. Furthermore, the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg began their work in the diocese of St. Louis in 1828, not in 1829, and they were in the diocese of Vincennes with Bishop Bruté following the withdrawal of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth and before the arrival of the Sisters of Providence of St. Mary of the Woods. No mention is made of this latter fact on page 86. Neither is there any mention of the Trappistines on page 80, although these religious were caring for and educating thirty-one orphans at the same time the Ursulines were conducting their academy and free school (1812-1815), both in New York. The Montana Ursulines did not come from Cleveland (p. 130) but from Toledo, and the Sisters of Charity of Providence went to Montana in 1862, and not in 1863 (p. 130).

Since the Sisters of the Holy Cross were cited by name as teaching sisters who nursed in the Civil War, so also should other communities be mentioned, for some gave more members than did the Holy Cross sisterhood to the camps and hospitals of both North and South.

On page 225 we read that the data given in table IX concerns the

525,529 teachers in thirty-six teaching communities. One would like to believe that this is the publisher's fault, for this is almost five times more Sisters than there are in all the religious orders of women in the United States.

Picked at random, the foregoing mistakes give one the feeling that no data in the book can be used without its first having been checked. This feeling is all the more strong when one sees quotations without references (such as on pages 45 and 53); misspellings such as *Rosatti* (pp. 62 and 89) and *Dubourg* (pages 76 and 88-92); names partially incorrect such as Sister Helen Marie for Sister Helen Louise (p. 149); a statistical account of the Catholic schools in a certain archdiocese with the name of the archdiocese missing (pp. 198-200), and an incomplete table (p. 121) which incidentally calls the Daughters of the Cross of Shreveport, La., the Daughters of Charity. This table purports to give the principal teaching communities of women in order of their establishment in this country. No close scrutiny is needed to note a number of important omissions. One example will suffice—The Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi, who, in addition to extensive work with normal children, have been actively engaged for sixty-one years in the education of the deaf and dumb and were pioneers in the field of Catholic education for the feeble-minded.

More serious is the superficial treatment of the important Michigan school question and the wrong information it gives when it is stated that after the proposed amendment was defeated at the polls in 1920 "no further attempts of the kind have been made" (p. 169). The fact of the matter is that the defeat of 1920 only urged on the proponents all the more. The Catholics of Michigan had to make strenuous efforts to defeat the amendment when it was voted on in 1924, and a similar proposal was defeated in the State of Washington the same year. The reference in the selected readings is *America*, vol. XXII, pp. 261-263. That article merely states that the substance of this amendment as proposed to the legislature was defeated. The *America* files of 1924 should have been examined, *e. g.*, vol. XXXII, pp. 110, 134, and 141-142.

In the discussion of the work of the diocesan superintendent (p. 197), diocesan summer schools (p. 223), and the growing emphasis on the responsibility of the diocese for the improvement of the preparation of teachers (p. 224), three dioceses were omitted—Providence, Fall River and Manchester. The diocese of Providence opened the Catholic Teachers College of Providence in 1929 for Saturday classes and summer courses; the diocese of Fall River makes use of the Sacred Heart School of Education in Fall River, which opened as a summer school in 1934 and is now functioning as a full-time institution; and a summer school for religious, at Mount St. Mary College, was opened in Manchester in 1935.

Since the greater part of the burden of Catholic education in the

United States has from very early times fallen on the various sisterhoods, the account of mediaeval education in Chapter I should have taken cognizance of the work of the nuns in parish and convent schools. Some of the latter were important as centers of culture devoted not only to the industrial and fine arts but to the seven liberal arts as well. As a matter of fact, schools conducted by nuns were, as a rule, open much earlier to externs than were the monastic schools of men. (Cf. Lina Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism.*

It is deplorable that a book of this nature should be allowed to become the vehicle of error in our Catholic colleges and normal schools. While it is expected that a certain number of mistakes will creep into practically every book, even the most trivial errors become serious when they are to be found in a work intended as a text. Hence, until this book is carefully revised, it should not be used, or if so, used with care.

In physical makeup it is attractive and contains much interesting information not to be found in the former two volumes by Dr. Burns. It has good reading lists, but there are surprising omissions in the bibliography, and the index is rather brief.

JOSEPH B. CODE.

The Catholic University of America.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The programme of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, as announced in these pages, was successfully carried out at the Philadelphia meeting, December 28-31. The secretary's report of the proceedings will appear in the April number of the REVIEW. Meeting concurrently were the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, the Agricultural History Society, the American Society of Church History, the Mediaeval Academy of America, the National Council for the Social Studies, the Society of American Archivists, the Bibliographical Society of America and the Southern History Association. With a long and varied programme devoted to the Constitution, its background, its content and its repercussions in Europe and elsewhere, the American Historical Association held one session on the Church and Constitutionalism; and there were papers at other sessions on Medieval Elements in the American Constitution; on Liberty, Religion, and Union; on English and French Industrial History after the Reformation in its Relation to the Constitution; and on the Holy Roman Empire *versus* the United States as patterns for constitution-making. The National Council for the Social Studies discussed Freedom of Teaching in a Democracy and the Academic Freedom of High School Teachers. The usual conference of editors of historical publications met at luncheon. The presidential address of the American Historical Association will appear in the January issue of the *American Historical Review*; that of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION is printed in this number of the REVIEW.

Maj. Gustave Lanctot has been appointed Dominion Archivist at Ottawa, succeeding the late Sir Arthur Doughty. The new archivist studied at Montreal University and at Oxford, and holds honorary degrees from the Universities of Paris and Ottawa. He has written on Canada under the French Régime. Dr. James F. Kenney, former president of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, has been acting archivist since Dr. Doughty's death.

The Very Rev. Carl H. Meinberg, M. A., a former member of the American Church History Seminar in the Catholic University of America has been appointed president of St. Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa, succeeding the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Martin Cone, who has been made vicar general of the Diocese of Davenport. Father Meinberg took his master's degree from the Catholic University in 1924, writing as his dissertation

"The Norse Church in Medieval America," which appeared in this REVIEW, (X, 179-216). Since then he has been the head of the history department at St. Ambrose, while occupying at the same time several important diocesan positions.

The Very Rev. Dr. Romanus Butin, S. M., internationally known scholar, professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures at the Catholic University of America, died from an automobile accident, December 8, at the age of 66. Dr. Butin was a frequent contributor to the REVIEW. He was Acting Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, 1926-1927, and two years later was associated with the joint Harvard-Catholic University archaeological expedition working in the vicinity of the Temple of Hathor on Mount Serabit-el-Khaden in the Sinai Desert. He was the author of the *Ten Nequdoth of the Torah*, and contributed to the Catholic and Jewish press.

The Rev. Père Louis Peeters, S. J., Bollandist, died at Louvain, October 14, 1937. He was born at Tournay, October 4, 1868.

Dr. Henry Obreen, Dutch historian, died recently, a death-bed convert to the Catholic faith.

The Social Science Research Council again offers fellowships and grants-in-aid of research in the social sciences, including social, economic and political history. The fellowships are open to citizens of the United States or Canada who will have completed prior to the end of the academic year, 1937-1938, all courses and examinations for the Ph. D., before completion of the thesis. Those who will be over the age of 30 on July 1, 1938, or who plan to receive the degree before the expiration of the period of appointment will not be eligible for the fellowships. Post-doctoral fellowships are offered to those possessing the Ph. D. degree or to those who can give assurance that the degree will be received before Feb. 15, 1938. The closing date for receipt of applications for the above fellowships is Feb. 1, 1938. Grants-in-aid of research are available to mature scholars without reference to age who make application before Jan. 15, 1938. The secretary is John E. Pomfret, 230 Park Ave., New York City. Similar aids in cultural and intellectual history are offered by the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth St., Washington, D. C.

Miss Bertha E. Josephson, editorial associate of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, is compiling a *Handbook for Historical Writing*. For her chapter on Footnote Construction she invites historians to submit examples of typical, and also of particularly difficult, specimens in footnote citation for the following fields: ancient, Far-Eastern, medieval, modern European, Hispanic-American, Canadian and English history.

She is especially interested in examples of archival material and unpublished manuscript references in these fields. Suggestions should be addressed to Miss Bertha E. Josephson, 104 Hitchcock Hall, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

The National Council for the Social Studies held its sixteenth annual meeting in St. Louis, November 26 and 27. The common-sense attitude of leading speakers, who condemned the mass of graduate trash and called for more content and less mere counting of variant opinions, was heartening to the historian. On the other hand, it was a bit depressing to listen to junior educationists, advocating what amounts to a sort of dictatorship of the adolescents, who are encouraged to subordinate the facts of history to their own "attitudes and interests."

Students will find *The Catholic Bookman*, an international Catholic monthly library and book trade journal (Walter Romig and Company, 14 National Bank Building, Detroit, Michigan, $2.75 a year), an excellent bibliographical help. Twenty-nine Catholic periodicals are indexed each month.

"The Testament of Mary: the Irish Account of the Death of the Virgin" is the title of an article by R. Willard in *Recherches de Théologie*, October. The Irish version of the *Transitus Mariae* has never been edited, but from a summary by Seymour the author makes comparisons with the Latin, Greek and Syriac accounts of the Dormition and Assumption. In the same number Miss B. Smalley continues her series of articles based on her research in connection with the medieval *Glossa Ordinaria* of Sacred Scripture.

A new life of *Saint Peter* is by Dr. Francis Underhill (Centenary Press).

Father Michael Bihl, in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, July-October, begins a study of the manuscripts containing the *Vita Prima* of St. Francis, by Thomas of Celano.

The Church and the Jews, a memorial issued by Catholic European Scholars, English version by the Rev. Dr. Gregory Feige, is published by the Committee on National Attitudes of the Catholic Association for International Peace (pp. 36). The Association has also printed statements on the *Crisis in the Far East* and on *Neutrality and International Responsibility*.

The recent death of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson recalls his vivid interest in the resumption of the work of the Bollandists after the World War. It will be recalled that Father H. Delehaye, S. J., dedicated to Jameson his

tercentenary volume on the Bollandists—*A travers trois Siècles (1615-1915)*. The Society has recently reprinted as a brochure—*Après un Siècle: l'Oeuvre des Bollandistes de 1837 à 1937*, from vol. LV of the *Analecta Bollandiana*. The grand old man in the group of Jesuits who have labored on the *Acta Sanctorum* during the past century, was the late Father Charles de Smedt, S. J., whose *Principes de la critique historique* (Liège, 1883) made a most lasting impression on higher ecclesiastical studies, in spite of the criticism it created at the time.

In November appeared the fifteenth fascicule of Dom Charles Poulet's monumental *Histoire du Christianisme* (Beauchesne). It includes sections on the following topics: The Gallican Crisis; Christians and Infidels in the 14th and 15th centuries; Christianity and Reform in the 14th and 15th centuries; Religious Thought in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Abbé R. Morçay, professor at the Institut Catholique de Paris, is the author of a recently-published *Nouvelle Histoire de l'Église* (Lanore). The volume is notable for its unusual treatment of church history. Instead of dividing his subject into the usual periods dealing with antiquity, the middle ages and modern times, Abbé Morçay considers the Church as a living being, constantly developing along continually progressive lines, but during certain extraordinary epochs, manifesting unusual development. In keeping with this treatment, he has thrown into high relief what he considers the three great centuries of the Church, the 4th, 13th and 17th. This well-documented study likewise offers several new viewpoints concerning 19th and 20th century developments.

A *Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin*, listing over 10,000 incipits, by Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, is Publication No. 29 of the Mediaeval Academy of America.

The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England, a dissertation submitted for the doctorate at New York University, by Homer G. Pfander, is intended merely as "an introduction to friar sermons." The chapters deal with Conditions of Preaching and the Nature of the Sermon, the English Verse-Sermon and the Popular Prose-Sermon. A sermon, *Per Proprium Sanguinem*, by Friar John Gregory, is given in its entirety as an example of the popular discourse. Again the university is to be commended for having solved so satisfactorily the troublesome question of printing doctoral dissertations.

The first volume of Gustav Schnürer's *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1936) was less in need of revision than of a great multiplication of copies. The changes made in this third edition are of a minor nature and do not disturb the pagination

of the second edition. The bibliography has, however, been extended and brought up to date. As was observed in our review of the second edition (*C. H. R.*, XVII, July, 1931, pp. 24-27), Professor Schnürer's work should be translated into English. A French translation is in progress. We hope that the supplementary volume, *Katholische Kirche und Kultur in der Barockzeit,* published this year by the same Verlag, will also be made accessible to French and English readers.

The latest volume of the *Geschichte des Papstums: eine Geschichte der Päpste von den Anfängen bis zum Tode Pius X,* by Franz Xaver Seppelt, treats of the papacy from 1534 to 1789. This volume is the fifth of the series. In the first two volumes the author covered the story down to 1046. The period between that date and the Council of Trent remains to be treated.

In the *Münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung* (III Folge, 8 Heft, 1935), K. Zähringer contributes "Das Kardinals-Kollegium auf dem Konstanzer Konzil bis zur Absetzung Papst Johanns XXIII." Concerning this same epoch of Church history the 1937 volume of the *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* contains the following articles: "Comment s'est formée la doctrine de la supériorité du concile sur le pape," by Victor Martin, and "Marsile de Padoue et Guillaume d'Ockham," by Georges de Lagarde.

In the last number of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 37 (1937), 423-428) Professor W. Ensslin of the University of Erlangen has a very detailed critical review of the important article, "Reliability of Titles and Dates in Codex Theodosianus," written by Rev. Martin J. Higgins, Instructor in Greek and Byzantine History at the Catholic University of America, and published in *Byzantion* (10 (1935), 621-640). Professor Ensslin regards Father Higgins' study as a very valuable contribution to scholarship.

In Heft 13, 1937, of the *Abh. der Bayerischen Ak. der Wiss.* (*Phil.-Hist. Abt.*), E. Schwartz offers a study of the lists of bishops who signed the acts of the Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople (381) and Chalcedon.

A welcome addition to the very meager literature concerning the influence of Christianity on the later Roman law is *Einfluss des Christentums auf das Corpus Juris Civilis,* by Constantine Hohenlohe (Vienna, 1937).

Desclée de Brouwer et Cie. announced recently the publication of a three-volume work edited by A. B. Duff and F. Galy entitled *Hommes d'état.* The biographies of seventeen great leaders, from Philip II of Macedon to Disraeli, all written by experts in their respective fields, are included. Among them are to be noted the lives of Constantine, Theodoric

the Great, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, St. Louis, Louis XI, Lorenzo the Magnificent, Michel de l'Hôpital, Philip II of Spain, Metternich, Cavour and Thiers.

The Central Bureau Press has issued, as Timely Topics Brochure XXXI, *Catholic Priests Distinguished Protestants Have Known*, a reprint of a pamphlet published a quarter of a century ago. The chapters concern Carlyle's admiration of Abbot Samson of Tottington; a Protestant writer's opinion of Father Hesselmann, S. J., and his services in the Thirty Years' War; Defoe's description of a French priest in *Robinson Crusoe*; Matthew Arnold's praise of Migne's collection of the writings of the Fathers; a Protestant tribute to Bishop Baraga; John L. Stephens' experiences with a hospitable friar in Central America; an edition of Father De Smet's letters published by non-Catholics; Robert Louis Stevenson's defense of Father Damien; and President Theodore Roosevelt's appreciation of Father Curran.

The *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, VI, 2 (Jul.-Dec., 1937) carries, as usual, a variety of contributions in several languages. Devoted exclusively to "Jesuitica," it contains a wealth of material that will be of interest to historians generally. In conformity with the policy of the publication the editor, Father Pedro Leturia, S. J., maintains a high standard of scholarship. Its chief value lies in its bibliographical features. "Exjesuiten als Bischöfe (1773-1822)" is the arresting title of a study by Father Wilhelm Kratz. By the Brief of Suppression of 1773 the obligation, imposed by the Constitutions of the Order and a special vow of the "Professed," of not accepting ecclesiastical dignities was relaxed. As a result, Father Kratz has been able to assemble factual data and copious references for fifty-five ex-Jesuits who were raised to the episcopacy under Pius VI and Pius VII. Among these, John Carroll in America and Michael Sailer in Germany are, perhaps, the best known. Father Kratz presents his findings as a stimulus to further research in this subject. He does not insist upon its deeper significance. Father Allan P. Farrell, "Colleges for Extern Students opened in the Lifetime of St. Ignatius," lists thirty-three liberal arts schools founded for non-Jesuit boys between 1546 and 1556, together with six additional foundations approved by St. Ignatius. These foundations, scattered as they were throughout Europe, reveal early and vigorous activity in the educational field. Father Farrell, moreover, corrects as well as supplements lists provided by Janssen, Pastor, Schwickerath and Hamy. Father Edmond Lamalle publishes a second installment of his "Bibliographia de Historia S. I. pro Anno 1935," bringing the total number of items to 395. This will serve to introduce his more ample *Guide bibliographique de l'histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, which is to appear shortly. Other articles throw light upon the course of studies

pursued by Louis de Molina, on sixteenth century Scotland and the Chinese Mission under Matteo Ricci. There is also a bibliographical study of Barthélemy Kašić, a Croatian writer of the early seventeenth century. In the book-reviews America, North and South, Europe and Japan are represented.

For the September issue of *Church History* Charles A. Hawley writes on Swedenborgianism and the Frontier; Clyde L. Grose on the Religion of Restoration England; W. T. Townsend on Councils Held under Pope Symmachus; and William W. Sweet on the Rise of Theological Schools in America.

The most recent addition to the *Histoire Générale* being published under the direction of Gustave Glotz of the French Institute by the Presses Universitaires is *La France et l'Angleterre en Conflit*, by Joseph Calmette, member of the Institute, and Eugène Deprez, professor in the Faculty of Letters of Rennes. This volume constitutes the first part of volume VII of that section of the *Histoire Générale* entitled *Histoire du Moyen Age.*

Paul Lesourd is the author of two interesting volumes that appeared in France within a month of each other. The first in point of time was his *Histoire des missions catholiques* (Librairie de l'Arc), with a preface by the director of the Clerical Missionary Union. The second was *La butte sacrée "Montmartre" des origines au XX^e siècle* (Spes).

A handsome and valuable reference work for students of the Church in France is the *Armorial de l'église de France*, by Jacques Meurgey. Published at Mâcon by Protat Frères, it includes some fifteen hundred engravings that constitute a complete guide to the armorial bearings of the bishoprics, chapters, parishes, abbeys and convents of France. Explanatory notes and a prefatory letter by Cardinal Verdier add to the value of the book.

On October 18, 1937, the cathedral of Reims was solemnly consecrated by Cardinal Suhard. The famous edifice has been restored with infinite pains by archaeologists and artists. Strangely enough it had never previously been consecrated since its erection in the thirteenth century. Apparently this was due to the fact that a consecrated altar of the ninth century was preserved *in situ* in the new gothic structure.

Twelve years ago Lucie Delarue-Mardrus published a small, but well-received volume on the Little Flower. She has now placed on the market a more comprehensive volume throwing new light on the life of the youthful saint, as gleaned from newly discovered documents. Her book is entitled *La Petite Thérèse de Lisieux* (Fasquelle).

Nineteenth-century Freemasonry receives a great share of attention in Alice Joly's recent study entitled *Un mystique Lyonnais et les secrets de la franc-maçonnerie: 1730-1824* (Mâcon, Protat Frères). The "mystique" is J. B. Willermoz. His biography has been carefully prepared from previously unpublished documentary sources.

In France, as elsewhere, the Spanish civil war has brought a flood of books from the press. Two that seem worthy of more than passing attention are those by Robert Waldteufel, *Esquisse de l'histoire d'Espagne* (Payot), and Alfred Mendizabal, *Aux origines d'une tragédie: La politique espagnole de 1923 à 1936* (Desclée de Brouwer). Jacques Maritain has written a preface for Mendizabal's work.

The Spanish Civil War, which has been extended into something of an international cultural battle, found repercussions in the United States in a letter signed by 150 Protestant leaders, principally clergymen, and issued, October 5, by Bishop Robert L. Paddock as president of the American Friends to Aid Spanish Democracy. The letter, which came as a protest to the Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Hierarchy in Spain, proceeded to analyze the statement of the Spanish Bishops and to find that it condemned "in principle the democratic institutions, the freedom of worship and the separation of church and state established by the constitution of 1931." The signers of this protest then declared their alarm that "we cannot help being disturbed by the fact that no leaders of the Catholic church in America have raised their voices in repudiation."

In a number of replies to the Protestant letter, notably one by Msgr. Michael J. Ready, executive secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Council, and another signed by 175 prominent Catholic priests and laymen, the first analysis of the Pastoral was stigmatized as untrue and unfair, while the Protestant signers were called for an accounting of their endorsement of "a governmental régime that has carried on a ruthless persecution of the Christian religion since February, 1934." "It is not necessary for any Protestant or Catholic to give his complete approbation to the Nationalist cause in Spain," the Catholic answer continued. "But it is absolutely and unquestionably necessary for every Protestant and Catholic in the United States to repudiate and condemn the policies and acts against religious and civic liberty perpetrated by the so-called Loyalist Government."

According to a conservative estimate of the United Press, the first year of the Civil War in Spain cost $1,725,000,000 and took toll of at least 350,000 lives. Catholic leadership has suffered an irreparable loss in the murder of priests and religious by the Reds. In their Pastoral Letter on the situation the Spanish Bishops report that of the secular clergy alone some 6000 have been killed. The Pope has vouched for the state-

ment that 80 per cent. of the Jesuit priests in Spain have been put to death by the Leftists. More than 20,000 churches and chapels have been destroyed, while the confiscation of church treasures and works of art has proved to be a major source of income for the "Loyalist" government.

The fall of Gijon, on October 21, followed by the establishment of Nationalist authority over the regions formerly allied with the Leftists, has placed 35 provinces of Spain under Franco's control as against 15 held by the régime established at Valencia and more recently at Barcelona. In view of this fact and in consideration that the right of religious worship is recognized and encouraged throughout Nationalist territory, the Vatican has granted a *de facto* recognition to the Franco government. Critics of the Vatican have seen in this a political move of the Church, unwarranted in view of the unfinished state of the war. The action of the Pope, however, is clearly justified in the fact that the Church is permitted to function normally in Nationalist territory and therefore must be granted official relations with the *de facto* government. If the same arrangement does not prevail on "Loyalist" soil, the reason is to be found in the anti-Catholic policy of the Leftist government.

At the time the 150 Protestant leaders were issuing their statement against the Pastoral of the Spanish Bishops, in the United States, another committee of well-known leaders of the Protestant Churches in England was formed to co-operate with the Catholic Church in presenting a Christian front against anti-Christian campaigns, including those in Spain. This committee, under the leadership of Sir Henry Lunn, includes two bishops of the Established Church, the missionary secretary of the Church of Scotland, the president of the Free Church Council, the chairman of the Congregational Union, 1935-36, the editor of the *Methodist Times*, and the secretary of the Methodist Education Committee. A letter issued by the committee declares among its aims "to deal with certain fallacies which are diverting the natural sympathy of our countrymen from the victims of the present anti-Christian campaign in Spain." It goes on to say that, "the statement that Protestant Churches have been suppressed in that territory (Nationalist) is false. General Franco affirmed in a broadcast speech on 19th February, 1937, that he stands for freedom of conscience and religious toleration."

The Nazi campaign against the Christian Churches, both Catholic and Protestant, as well as against Jews, has continued unabated; and this in spite of the repeated protests of the persecuted bodies. In many respects Catholics and Protestants have been driven to form a common Christian front, against the determination of the National Socialist Government to create an official pagan culture for the German people. The arrest of the Rev. Martin Niemoeller, leading Protestant minister and chaplain, stirred

a profound resentment among Protestant forces, who now realize that Nazi policies aim at nothing short of a complete extermination of Christian thought and organizations independent of civil dictation.

Christian leaders have warned Hitler that this course is definitely splitting the unity of the German nation and, through the issuance of false declarations, is arousing a profound distrust of governmental authority. One of the most dramatic of recent utterances by Protestants has been the letter of the army chaplains to Hitler. "The conflict centering around the Protestant Church," according to this document, "could still be referred to in public addresses in the year 1935 as mere pastoral bickering. Today it has become, together with the conflict centering about the Catholic Church, a domestic political issue of primary importance. The new breach that divides the German nation is the breach between National Socialism and Christianity."

The official recognition of Ludendorff's propaganda and the awarding of the first national prize (after outlawing the Nobel Prize) to Alfred Rosenberg have been brought to witness the positive program of the Nazi régime as against its contention that it is merely fighting "political" Christianity. "In the country," the letter continues, "where the differences are not concealed, it is now customary for the villages to be divided into two camps. The one supports the local National Socialist leader. The other supports the pastor or priest. The differences are so great that the two parties sometimes come to blows."

The Ministry for Church Affairs, headed by Hanns Kerrl, has been branded as an increasingly harsh dictatorship, and it is pointed out that of the 18,000 Protestant pastors in Germany approximately 1,300 have been in prison or under arrest since 1934. Then referring to press denunciations of the Christian leaders and congregations, the chaplains add, "The treatment of the Catholic Church in the press has made the same impression upon loyal Protestants."

As a tangible but cautious estimate of the influence of these policies, the letter states that 12 to 15 per cent. of the population have been forced into bitter opposition to the Nazi state. At least one-half of the German people are said to disapprove the policies of the régime regarding religion, without, however, making this a point of departure in their political attitude.

In a vigorous pastoral letter, dated for reading December 5, the Most Rev. Konrad von Preysing, Bishop of Berlin, complained of the same repressive measures, ranging from attack and ridicule in the press to the closing down and seizure of Catholic publications and the dissolution of Catholic youth groups. "It is a fatal mistake," declared the bishop, "to suppose that the nation's welfare can be promoted by the destruction of Christianity based on revelation. If in this struggle might and force

can achieve cheap triumphs, nevertheless our nation's unity is threatened if freedom of conscience and of belief are withheld from the Christian part of the nation. We bishops do not want a battle, but we should be cowards and hirelings if we should betray the Faith with such a peace as is offered."

The Holy See has similarly been unceasing in its denunciation of the Nazi policies relative to religious freedom. Referring to the Nuremburg Nazi Congress, in an address to German pilgrims, Pope Pius XI declared that "the hour is terrible for religion and for all those who are determined to remain loyal to it . . . the hour when one goes as far as to crown publicly as a new 'Prophet of the Fatherland' an author who writes against everything that is Catholic, nay, against everything that is Christian." In his Encyclical on the Rosary, the Pope took pains to "denounce to the whole world," an article which appeared in an official publication of the Hitler régime attacking the Polish national cult of Our Lady of Czenstochowa, as a "sacrilege committed with impunity, as a painful and unworthy thing."

Rumors to the effect that Mussolini's trip to Berlin might effect an improvement between the Church and the Third Reich have been shown to be groundless. The Rome-Berlin Axis, far from changing Nazi policy relative to religion, has apparently opened the way for a modification of Italian policy towards Austria and the more rapid Nazification of that country. The Patriotic Front has been impregnated with Nazi and Socialist influence, and in spite of his wishes, the Chancellor has been forced, on a number of points, to yield to Pan-German pressure of a Nazi character. Salzburg, Upper Austria and Carinthia are reported to be overwhelmingly Nazi in sympathy. De-Christianization is going on in the industrial and urban centers of Austria on a large scale, so that observers have stated the total number of practising Catholics in Austria not to exceed 15 per cent. of the population. Inasmuch as the Catholic bishops have been distinguished for their support of the present government, a change of régime, under German re-organization, would bode utter tragedy to the Church.

On October 21, Nazi authorities dissolved the Central (Catholic) Party in Danzig, the last independent political party in the Free City except the Polish Party. This action followed as a result of the Bishop of Danzig's decision to establish two Polish dioceses within the city. Although the Polish population believed the Bishop's decision to be in entire comformity with the pacts between Danzig and Poland, Herr Greiser, the President of the Danzig Senate, protested against it to the Holy See as conflicting with the common sentiment of the population. As a result, the Bishop, Msgr. O'Rourke, suspended his decree pending a decision by the Vatican.

The entire incident, however, has clearly been used simply as a step towards the consolidation of all Germans in Danzig. It had been preceded by a series of official searches involving the majority of Catholic priests in the city and including the premises of the Consul General for Austria on the grounds of alleged relations with the Catholic clergy. Under these conditions, the committee of the Central Party believed it advisable to refrain from appeal against the decree of dissolution, which had been hailed as a great step forward by Herr Förster, local chief of the Nazi Party, "thanks to the program of the Nazi Party." The next step will be the elimination of the Polish Party by those who believe it the duty of all Germans to unite under the leadership of the Führer.

In Holland, the Catholic bishops have taken a decided stand against the extension of Nazi influence, and in a joint pastoral prior to the last elections warned Catholics that those who voted for the Nazi leader, Mussert, would not be admitted to the sacraments. The result showed itself in a decisive victory for the Catholic Staats-party.

In Hungary, Nazi growth, particularly among the large numbers of landless peasantry, received a set-back early in November with the introduction in Parliament of a bill calculated to censor pamphlet literature. Three Nazi groups, with extensive propaganda, are already working in the country, under the respective leaderships of Count Festetics, Major Szalasi, and Dr. Fereno Rainiss.

While the regency of Horthy is opposed to Nazism and believes that it can keep the movement under control, there is in Hungary a definite kinship with Germany in its national attitude towards Czechoslovakia, and in the event of an agrarian revolution, the land proprietors would probably lean towards a Nazi solution rather than a scheme of expropriation and collectivism.

In spite of the Marxian character of a good deal of trade unionism in Europe and of the suppression of the trade unions in totalitarian states, the 7th International Congress of Christian Trade Unions was held at Paris, the second week of September, with 350 delegates representing 1,508,037 Christian workers in eight countries. The purpose of the Congress was to study the problems of workers and discuss possibilities of co-ordination. Inspired by the social doctrines of the *Rerum Novarum*, the Christian Trades Unions are organized differently according to the religious structure of the different countries. Switzerland has both Protestant unions and unions which embrace groups of Catholics and of Protestants. Holland has distinct organizations for Catholics and Protestants. Notable gains in the movement were recorded, a 30 per cent. increase in three years being noted for Holland, a jump from 17,600 to

40,000 in Czechoslovakia, a three-fold increase for Yugoslavia, and a five-fold increase in France during the same period.

A welcome addition to the literature on the writing of parish histories is Father Josef Weber's *Anleitung zur Abfassung einer Pfarrgeschichte* (Band 12, *Südostbayerische Heimatstudien*, 1935, Jetzendorf, Bavaria, pp. 36).

The recent discovery of source material on Manichaeism has been the occasion of great interest in that subject. Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1936), has a chapter on Mani and his religion, together with a rich bibliography. W. Henning has recently published *Ein Manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* [*Beichtspiegel*], with Persian and Sogdian texts, German translations, and linguistic commentary. It appears in *Abh. der Pr. Ak. der Wiss.* (*Phil.-hist. Kl.*), no. 10 (1936).

What is probably the first important biography of Pope Leo XIII to appear in France is F. Hayward's *Léon XIII*. It appeared recently in Grasset's collection "Documents et Histoire."

The English Missionaries in Sweden and Finland, by C. J. A. Oppermann, is based upon the author's *Sweden and the Papacy, 822-1248*, a dissertation submitted for the doctorate at the University of London (S. P. C. K.).

Writings on British History, 1934, compiled by Alexander T. Milne, the first of an annual bibliography to be issued by the Royal Historical Society, has made its appearance. It comprehends all periods from Anglo-Saxon times to 1914, with a select list of publications on British history since that year; subsequent volumes will be confined to books and articles which have been printed within the year for which the list will appear. This series will do for Great Britain what Miss Griffin's *Writings on American History* does for the United States, the annual *Répertoire bibliographique de l'histoire de France* for that country, and Dahlmann-Waitz and the *Jahresberichte für deutsche Geschichte* (which has appeared under various titles since 1878) for Germany. This new publication will fill a want in British historiography not supplied by other tools. The second edition of Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History from the Earlier Times to about 1485*, is antiquated; the bibliographies of the Tudor and Stuart periods, published by the Royal Historical Society in conjunction with the American Historical Association, make no provision for the nineteenth century and are not exhaustive; the last section in the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* which related to English history appeared in 1913 and dealt with work on modern history published between 1901 and 1905; the *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature* and the *International Biblio-*

graphy of Historical Sciences are highly selective, and the annual *Supplements* (1929-) to the *Guide to the Historical Publications of the Societies of England and Wales* deal only with periodicals. It would be tragic if the *Writings on American History*, which so greatly influenced the beginning of British *Writings*, should be obliged to interrupt publication because of the death of Dr. Jameson who personally collected funds necessary for its continuance. An effort will be made by the American Historical Association to organize a Dr. Jameson Memorial Fund of sufficient amount to guarantee for all time the appearance of this indispensable bibliography.

The supplement to the June number of the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research contains particulars of historical theses completed during 1936 and in progress in the universities and colleges of the United Kingdom. The list, of both masters' and doctors' subjects, gives many references to church history titles.

Supplement No. 8 of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, November, is a *Guide to the Historical Publications of the Societies of England and Wales*, for 1936.

In the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (1937, pp. 789-791), Dom Gougaud presents a bibliography of works useful for identifying manuscripts that at one time belonged to English monasteries.

Old Parish Life in London, by Charles Pendrill, gives a prominent place to the influence of the Church in medieval times and to a comparison between pre-Reformation and post-Reformation years (Oxford University Press).

Dr. John A. Duke's *History of the Church of Scotland to the Reformation* continues the story of the author's account of the *Columban Church from 1070 to 1560* (Oliver and Boyd).

Letters in Canada, 1936, edited by A. S. P. Woodhouse and reprinted from the *University of Toronto Quarterly* (April and July, 1937), gives a useful survey of the literature of that year and lists periodicals and publications in the various fields.

On December 7 the sesquicentennial of the adoption of the Constitution by the Federal Convention was celebrated at the Catholic University of America, the Rector, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph M. Corrigan, presiding. The following papers were read: "The Catholic Philosophy of the Constitution," by the Rev. Moorhouse I. X. Millar, S. J., of Fordham University; "The Catholic Signers of the Constitution," by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, of Carnegie Institution of Washington; "The Catholic Contribution of Constitutional Law," a statement of the work of Chief

Justices Roger B. Taney and Edward D. White and of Justice Joseph McKenna, by the Hon. William C. Walsh, former Chief Judge, Fourth Judicial Circuit of Maryland; and "The Constitution and Papal Encyclicals of Our Times," by the Rev. Dr. Robert J. White, Dean of the Law School of the Catholic University. A forthcoming brochure will contain the addresses.

History was exploited with apparently very wholesome results in a mammoth civic pageant, presented in the Milwaukee Municipal Auditorium, November 9, 10 and 11. *The Restless Flame,* "a drama of romantic adventure built around the traditions of Milwaukee," was written and personally directed by Daniel A. Lord, S. J. The theme was the urge in the soul of man through all ages, driving him on to discovery and conquest. The ancient Greeks, the Vikings, Marco Polo, and Columbus were featured in a series of graphic scenes, culminating in the story of Père Marquette. The services of some eight hundred students from Catholic and public schools were enlisted.

The Catholic press has called attention to the fact that the Most Rev. Duane G. Hunt, lately consecrated Bishop of Salt Lake, is the twelfth convert to the Catholic Church who has been raised to episcopal dignity in the United States. The preceding eleven were Archbishop Eccleston of Baltimore, William Tyler, first Bishop of Hartford, Archbishop James Roosevelt of Newark and Baltimore, Bishop Josue M. Young of Erie, James F. Wood, first Archbishop of Philadelphia, Sylvester H. Rosecrans, brother of Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, first Bishop of Columbus, Bishop Thomas A. Becker of Wilmington and Savannah, Bishop Richard Gilmour of Cleveland, Edgar P. Wadhams, first Bishop of Ogdensburg, Bishop Alfred A. Curtis of Wilmington, and Archbishop James H. Blenk, S. M., of New Orleans. Six of these converts (Eccleston, Tyler, Bayley, Rosecrans, Wadhams and Curtis) were Episcopalians; two (Blenk and Becker) were Lutherans; Wood was a Unitarian; Gilmour a Presbyterian; Young a Congregationalist; and Hunt a Methodist.

Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers of the *Dictionary of American Biography,* announce an Index to the twenty volumes, which will be divided into six divisions: list of subjects, giving dates of birth and death and name of contributor; list of contributors; a geographical analysis of the birthplace of each subject; schools and colleges attended by each; occupations followed; and a topical index. The Index, of over 600 pages, has been priced at $15.

Professor Harry D. Gideonse, of the University of Chicago, has published *The Higher Learning in a Democracy—A Reply to President Hutchins' Critique of the American University* (New York, Farrar and

Rinehart, 1937, pp. 34). The spirit of the *Reply* may be gauged from the following sentence: "If philosophers are to contribute their share in the mastery of the ensuing perplexity as to what knowledge means and what its potentialities might be, they will have to drop medieval claims to match the position of theology as the queen of sciences" (p. 30).

The New History Society, 132 East 65th St., New York, offers three prizes ($300, $200, $100) for the three best papers of not more than 2000 words on the subject, "How can cultural and social values of racial minorities in the United States and its outlying possessions and territories be adjusted and harmonized?" The competition will close on March 15, 1938.

Vol. XXVII of the U. S. Catholic Historical Society's *Historical Records and Studies* (Thomas F. Meehan, ed.) contains a contribution by Leonard Feeney, S. J., on a Neglected Chapter of Catholic History: Our Poets; an account of the U. S. Catholic Press Exhibit at Vatican City, 1936, by Charles H. Ridder; a study of Brownson on Know-Nothingism, by Joseph R. Frese, S. J.; a list of First American Editions of Catholic Bibles, compiled by Wilfrid Parsons, S. J.; and the doctoral dissertation submitted by Sister Loyola, S. N. D., to the Boston College Graduate School, on Bishop Benedict J. Fenwick and Anti-Catholicism in New England, 1829-1845. Vol. XXVIII prints articles on American Prelates in the Vatican Council, by Raymond J. Clancy, C. S. C.; James Kerrigan, Merchant, by Sara M. Murphy; a history of Catholic Action in the United States, by Thomas F. Meehan; a study of Oliver Pollock, Catholic Patriot and Financier of the American Revolution, by William F. Mullaney, O. M. I.; a list of Early Catholic Weeklies, by Mr. Meehan; and a note on Our Colored Catholics.

The *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia prints in its September number two dissertations prepared at Catholic University for the M. A.: Political Nativism in Cincinnati, 1830-1860, by the Rev. Alfred G. Stritch; and Political Nativism in Buffalo, 1830-1860, by Sister M. Felicity O'Driscoll, S. S. M.

The *Historical Bulletin* for November prints a contribution by Peter M. Dunne, "Nepotism Turned a Blessing," dealing with Pius IV's favor of Carlo Borromeo; a study of Usury and the Just Price in the Middle Ages, by Laurence K. Patterson; an article on Görres, Battler for Liberty, by Raymond Corrigan; and pedagogical notes on Making History Interesting, by W. Patrick Donnelly, and High School History Teaching, by Gerald Brennan.

Polish Pioneers of Virginia and Kentucky by Miecislaus Haiman (Chicago, Ill., Polish R. C. Union of America, 1937, pp. 82) is a well annotated history of the earliest Poles in the present United States.

Among recent publications in the field of parochial history are the following works: *Chronological History of St. Augustine's Parish, Chicago, Illinois, 1879-1936,* based to a large extent on a manuscript (pp. 983) compiled by Father Leo Kalmer, O. F. M.; *One Hundred Years of St. Boniface Parish* (Louisville, Ky.), an historical sketch by Father John B. Wuest, O. F. M., which contains ten pages of references to manuscript material used in the book; and *Album Souvenir (1887-1937): Paroisse Saint-Mathieu de Fall River, Mass.,* containing a history of the parish by the second pastor, Rev. Louis A. Casgrain.

The History of Clintonville, Wisconsin, from Pioneer Days to the Present Time, by Nicholas D. Diedrich and John Britten Gehl (Clintonville, 1937, pp. 293), furnishes an excellent model for a town history.

The Huntington Library Quarterly, the first number of which appeared in October, succeeds the *Huntington Library Bulletin* (May, 1931-April, 1937, 11 numbers). The new periodical will provide a medium for the publication of articles based on the researches of scholars working at the library; there will also be a section of Notes and Documents. Subscriptions, $5.00, should be addressed to the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. An independent series of *Huntington Library Lists* (bibliographies) has been started.

The Survey of Spokane Church Archives, directed by the Federal Historical Records Survey under the auspices of the W. P. A., is printed in the October number of the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* and gives details of the archives of twelve Catholic churches.

The American Folk-Lore Society has just published *Spanish Folk-Tales from New Mexico,* by José Manuel Espinosa. This very attractive volume contains 114 popular stories which the compiler gathered, pencil in hand, from the mouths of natives between the ages of twelve and one hundred years. They are a monument to Spanish tradition on American soil reaching back to the sixteenth century. Dr. Espinosa brought to the work a flawless linguistic and scholarly equipment, which is revealed in his classification, tracing of origins chiefly in old Castile, and bibliographical notes. One is struck by the persistence of an old-world mentality to the almost complete exclusion of Indian influences.

The appointment of Most Rev. Miguel Dario Miranda as Bishop of Tulancingo, Mexico (State of Hidalgo), has been regarded as a very happy and hopeful sign for the Church in that country. As organizer of Catholic Action on a national scale in Mexico, Msgr. Miranda has laid the foundations for a solid reconstruction of the Church in an era that requires both courage and intelligence against the forces of persecution. His

program, which has made very definite headway, embraces national organization on diocesan basis, the training of leaders, formation of units to teach Catholic social and ethical principles, and plans for a national Catholic university. Nearly 150,000 persons have become actively enrolled in Catholic Action in Mexico, with an intensive program of instruction reaching a far greater number in twenty-nine dioceses.

Announcement that Most Rev. Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, Archbishop of Morelia and former Apostolic Delegate to Mexico, is to return to Mexico has also been the occasion of some optimism for improved conditions. Repeatedly exiled from his country, Archbishop Ruiz has been living at San Antonio, Texas, since 1932. On August 30 of this year he resigned his position of Apostolic Delegate, which he had retained in spite of his exile, and the Most Rev. Luis M. Martinez y Rodriguez, Archbishop of Mexico City, was designated to take charge of ecclesiastical affairs with the Holy See. The decision of Archbishop Ruiz to return to Mexico comes as the result of the dismissing of charges against him that had remained in the Mexican courts. This action, based on a general amnesty granted by President Cardenas, will permit the return also of Most Rev. Jose Manriquez y Zarate, Bishop of Huejutla, who has also been residing in Texas.

The Bishops of Tobasco, Oaxaca, Chiapas, Huajapan de Leon, Tehuantepec and Papantla are still excluded from their sees. In many respects, however, there is greater freedom of worship in many states, although the program of Socialist education goes on apace, with Marxist principles dominating large sectors of Labor under such leaders as Lombardo Toledano.

A new publication has been launched in Mexico under the title *El Movimiento Historico en Mexico.* Its editors believe that in matters of history "the contribution of the average man is not only acceptable but in many instances expedient and frequently even necessary." The purpose of the publication, as revealed in this statement, is a laudable one and deserves commendation and support, provided contributions of this kind do not in effect nullify the labor and output of the small circle of strictly scientific historians. This first issue of the publication gives reason to hope that the scientific historian will be able to approve and support the new venture. The issue has a certain attractiveness about it that appeals. Particularly interesting and valuable are the various sections devoted to historical news and the replies to the three questions: "Have we a history of Mexico?" "Which period of our history do you think is the most interesting?" "Which period of our history do you think has been best studied?" Lic. Pablo Herrera Carrillo is the director of the publication and subscriptions to it ($0.25 per copy and $1.00

for the series of five numbers) may be addressed: Apartado Postal No. 10739, Mexico D. F., Mexico.

In the July, 1937, issue of *Abside,* Pablo Martinez del Rio compares the pre-cortesian civilization of Mexico with that of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. This impartial and sound study, prepared by a scholar of high attainments in the field of archaeology, should be read by all who are inclined to exalt beyond merit the aborigines of Mexico in point of civilization and culture. In this issue of *Abside* we find also a brief but compelling article on Gabriel Garcia Moreno by Richard Pattee. It shows plainly that a critical and adequate biography of Ecuador's national hero has not yet been written. Finally, in a contribution under the title "La Carta Magna de los Indios," reprinted from the Mexican daily *El Universal,* the well-known historian Alfonso Junco discusses the famous papal bull *Sublimis Deus,* which was issued by Pope Paul III on June 2, 1537, in defense of the Indians in the New World against the pretensions of some of the Spanish conquerors and colonists. The writer very correctly rejects as wholly unwarranted the idea of those who "are accustomed to claim that in this bull the rationality of the Indians is declared." What the bull really declares is "the liberty and capacity of the Indians, their dignity as human beings, their right to property, the obligation to attract them to the faith by persuasion and good example." The article is a worthy contribution to the 400th anniversary of the issuance of this famous bull. *Abside* is a new monthly periodical that deserves recognition and support. It is devoted to Mexican culture in the field of literature, history, and philosophy. Those who are interested in this phase of American history would do well to subscribe to it. The price is $4.00 a year ($0.50 a single copy) and the address is Fresno No. 193, Mexico D. F., Mexico.

The Japanese invasion of China has given rise to a number of questions which are certain to affect the missionary future of the Church in the territory under fire. The province of Hopei, which has been in the direct line of attack, is possibly the most important Catholic center, since about 800,000 Catholics or over one-fourth of the Catholic population live there. Shanghai, likewise an important Catholic center, has suffered equally from the war. Practically all the missionary centers have been converted into hospitals.

Whatever the outcome of the present conflict, it appears practically certain that the Church in China will have to depend more and more upon its native clergy. The attitude taken by the foreign countries which have supplied missionaries has not, in the present crisis, contributed to increase the confidence of either China or Japan in their sincerity or prestige; and the victory of Japan may possibly eventuate in the notable curtail-

ment of American and French missionary influence in the conquered regions.

A press report to the effect that the Vatican was inclined to favor the Japanese cause, in its alleged anti-communistic drive, was shown to be without foundation. In this conflict, the Church has carefully abstained from passing final judgment and has confined itself, through its missionaries and facilities, to humanitarian functions.

Documents. Catalogo dei codici della biblioteca del convento di San Francisco dei Minori Cappuccini in Milano, II, by Carlo Varischi da Milano, O. M. Cap. (*Aevum*, October-December); Letters from the Fitzherbert Papers, Shane Leslie (*Dublin Review*, October); MSS. of Rev. Caspar Rehrl concerning Teaching, Peter L. Johnson (*Salesianum*, October); Father William Creichton, S. J., and a recently discovered Letter (1589), Hubert Chadwick, S. J. (*Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, July-December).

Anniversaries. 25th: Marymount College; St. Joseph's, Lockport, N. Y.; St. Paschal's, Argentine, Pittsburgh, Pa.; St. Joseph's, Wichita, Kan.; St. Mary's, Montrose, Colo.; Sacred Heart parish, Flatonia, Tex. *50th*: Sisters of Divine Saviour; Sacred Heart parish, Boston, Mass. (Boston *Pilot*, Dec. 4); St. Leonard's, Boston, Mass. (*ibid.*); St. Joseph's, Holbrook, Mass. (*id.*, Nov. 20); St. Lucy's, Cochecton, N. Y.; Our Lady of Perpetual Help, New York City; Blessed Sacrament Parish, New York City (*Catholic News*, Nov. 13, 20); St. Mark's, New York City (*id.*, Dec. 4); St. Mary, Star of the Sea, City Island, N. Y.; St. Mary's, McKeesport, Pa.; St. Jerome's, Baltimore, Md. (Baltimore *Catholic Review*, Oct. 22); St. Mark's, Fallston, Md. (*ibid.*); Sacred Heart parish, Cincinnati, O.; St. James', Wyoming, O.; St. Agnes', St. Paul, Minn.; Holy Trinity parish, La Crosse, Wis. (*Catholic Herald Citizen*, Oct. 9); St. Francis Hospital, Grand Island, Neb. (Denver *Catholic Register*, Oct. 14); Convent and Academy of the Rosary, New Orleans, La. *75th*: St. Stephen's, Boston, Mass. (Boston *Pilot*, Nov. 20); St. Patrick's, Richmond, Staten Island (*Catholic News*, Oct. 9); Annunciation parish, Philadelphia, Pa. (*Catholic Standard and Times*, Nov. 5); St. Bridget's, Abington, Pa.; St. Patrick's, Rolla, Mo.; Our Lady of Help, Pilot Knob, Mo. *100th*: Congregation of the Holy Cross; diocese of Nashville, Tenn.; St. Peter's, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (*Catholic News*, Nov. 6); Academy of the Visitation, Baltimore, Md.; St. Boniface's, Louisville, Ky.; Emmanuel parish, Dayton, O.; St. Aloysius' orphanage, Cincinnati, O.; parish of the Assumption, Evansville, Ind.; Holy Family parish, Oldenburg, Ind. (*Indiana Catholic and Record*, Oct. 13); St. Michael's Madison, Ind. (*ibid.*, Sept. 24); SS. Peter and Paul's, Wisconsin Rapids, Wis. *125th*: Sisters of Charity of Nazareth.

BRIEF NOTICES

ALFONSO, D. PIO, O. S. B., *I Responsori Biblici dell' Ufficio Romano: Note sulla centonizzazione.* (Lateranum, Ed. Instituto Grafico Tiberino, Roma, 1936, pp. ix, 190.) Here we have a scholarly work that will certainly please all lovers of liturgical lore. The author studies the organic arrangement or intrinsic composition of the *Responsoriale*, limiting himself, however, to the responsories taken from Holy Scripture and ordered to be recited or chanted, by way of intercalation, with the reading of the corresponding books in the Office. The work embraces the entire *de tempore* of the ancient *Responsoriale*, in which the biblical responsories form a truly organic whole by themselves. Though the author does not enter expressly into the question of the historical origin and authorship of the *Responsoriale* in its external composition, nevertheless his work is an important contribution towards a solution of the problem. In his study, the author worked almost exclusively on the Hartker MS., from which, in the second part of the book, he gives the text of the biblical responsories, taken from a photostat of the Hartker *Antiphonarium*. However, while preferring, for practical reasons the Hartker *Antiphonarium* (X cent.), the author shows some consideration for that of Compiègne (IX cent.). In fact, he gives it first place among the variants, that is, such texts which differ from those of the Hartker MS. The variants he borrows from the St. Peter *Antiphonarium* (XII cent.) and from the present Roman Breviary, serve only to point out the evolution of the ancient tradition till about the twelfth century, in Rome; for the texts of chants in our present breviary are the same as in the *Breviarium Curiae*, of that epoch. This study will be of use also to biblical students, for the author has indicated all the variants having other source than the Vulgate, that is, all the texts or readings belonging to versions prior to that of St. Jerome. (C. I. C.)

CHRISTOPHE, JACQUES, *Celle Que Tout le Monde Aime.* (Paris, La Bonne Presse, 1936, pp. 208.) "When a book is heaven-sent, it goes farther than light, it penetrates everywhere; nothing can stop it." These words taken from the author himself, are the best criticism of this new appreciative life of Theresa of the Child Jesus. After reading the little sketch, one's mind should be happier and one's heart kinder for the thoughts it contains are clear and pleasant and are little glimpses of heaven. It is a tribute to Theresa, as pure and as simple as the one whose life it portrays. The little book merely sketches the most important parts of the life of the young saint, but it does so with a great delicacy of touch and depth of feeling. The reader learns to respect the imprint of the divine love in a soul and many may be led to desire to imitate the simplicity of life of the humble Carmelite nun. (S. M. CESLAS.)

CHRYSOGONO A JESU SACRAMENTATO, O. C. D., *Asceticae et Mysticae Summa.* Translata a R. P. Joseph Antonio a Puero Jesu, ejusdem Ordinis (Romae, Libraria Marietti, 1936, pp. vii, 470, Lib. It. 10.) This is an historical as well

as a dogmatic treatise on ascetical and mystical theology. A good third of the book is dedicated to an historical survey of ancient, medieval and recent schools of mysticism, together with an exposition of the heretical schools of those periods. As an indication of the thoroughness of this treatment, there is a bibliography of twenty-two pages covering every age. The dogmatic exposition is clear, brief, excellently arranged, but suffering considerably from extreme brevity. The author is a member of that Carmelite school which has diverged considerably from Thomism, a divergence made clear in the text, as for example, in the discussion of the gifts of the Holy Ghost (p. 14). (W. F.)

COSTIGAN, J. J., S. J., *Cosmology.* (New York, Fordham University Press, 1936, pp. 95.) This small monograph represents a compilation from several sources. It is intended as a text-book for college classes and on this fact rests the excuse for its not being exhaustive. Yet there is no excuse for leaving out essentials. The book adds nothing to the interpretation of scholastic philosophy but perpetuates the constant charge of "rattling the dried bones of the past." We need a readable text in Cosmology for our college students. We also need an interpretation of Scholastic Cosmology in relation to modern physics and chemistry. This book offers neither. However, it does recommend itself as an outline for the student, despite the fact that it fails to give the harmonization of modern theories of matter and hylomorphism and the doctrine of substantial change. The book is well printed and its format is orderly, precise and scholastic in form. (J. R. SLAVIN, O. P.)

COX, IGNATIUS W., S. J., *Liberty: Its Use and Abuse.* (New York, The Fordham University Press, Vol. I, 1936, pp. vi, 168, Vol. II, 1937, pp. v, 273.) The first of these two volumes aims at restoring human liberty to its proper place in human affairs. The first step in such a restoration is a clear understanding of basic ethics; and this is the burden of the first volume. In his exposition of natural law and its obligation, Father Cox has come a long way from Suarez towards Thomas; in fact very nearly all the way. The vestiges retained are just sufficient to mar the perfect logic of his exposition, throwing in a few of the contradictions inevitable in an attempt to harmonize the diametrically opposed. The book is a marvel of brevity and clarity. It proceeds in scholastic form with all the aggressive simplicity of succinctly stated theses unquestionably proved. At the end of each chapter topics of discussion are submitted together with a brief reading list of modern books easy to get at and easy to read. The book closes with a summary of its doctrine in twenty-five theses; an even more excellent summary condenses the whole of basic ethics in twenty-eight questions and answers.

The second volume is presented in the same rigidly scholastic form as the first. But unlike the first volume, the present work deserves no high praise for profound and consistent thought, as is evidenced in the determined effort to make the Natural Law do all the chores of special ethics. The brief summaries of modern errors are excellently done. (W. F.)

EVANS, ALLAN (Ed.), *Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, La Pratica della Mercatura.* (Cambridge, Mass., The Mediaeval Academy of America [Publication No. 24], 1936, pp. liv, 443, $7.00.) The *Libro di Divisamenti di Paesi e di*

Misure di Mercatantie written in the early fourteenth century by the Florentine Pegolotti, an agent of the banking house of the Bardi, is a most precious source for the economic and geographical history of the Later Middle Ages. It was edited and published in 1766 by the Florentine antiquarian Pagnini under a new, and now generally accepted title, *La Pratica della Mercatura*. Pagnini's work leaves much to be desired and has now become quite rare. A new edition, therefore, has long been a desideratum, and the present one by Mr. Evans of Harvard University is most welcome.

The introduction contains a full account of the text tradition, of the author, and of his sources. The Italian text, so far as one can check the editor's work against the four pages of the unique Ms. reproduced in the plates, has been transcribed with minute accuracy. Mr. Evans has rightly not hesitated, however, to normalize spelling here and there and to add modern punctuation, capitalization, etc., so as to make the text easily intelligible to a modern reader. Then come the following glossaries and indices: Key References for Glossaries and Indices (a valuable bibliography), Glossary of Toll Stations on the Road from Ayas to Tabriz, Glossary of English Religious Houses, Glossary and Index of Place Names, Glossary of Unusual Weights and Measures, Glossary and Index of Commodities, Index of Coins and Monies of Account, General Index of Proper Names, Subjects and Miscellaneous Terms. In his glossaries, the editor has not been content to register technical terms, place names, etc., in a merely mechanical way, but has striven on the basis of a thorough study of every possible source, as the key references indicate, to clarify all difficult points so far as the present state of our knowledge will permit. He has thus furnished, as it were, a brief commentary on Pegolotti's manual. Mr. Evans deserves warm praise for his splendid edition of *La Pratica della Mercatura*, and we are once more indebted to the Mediaeval Academy of America for making its publication possible. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.)

FAULKNER, HAROLD UNDERWOOD, *American Economic History*, Third edition. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1935, pp. xvi + 816, $3.50.) In this third edition of Professor Faulkner's well-known work twenty-six new maps have been introduced and the text and bibliographies have been brought down to the date of publication. The two concluding chapters of the former edition have been revised and a new chapter added which deals with the economic collapse following 1929 and the "New Deal" measures adopted to meet it. The experimental nature of much of the new legislation is recognized and on the whole the "New Deal" receives sympathetic treatment. (F. O'H.)

GILKEY, JAMES GORDON, *Getting Help From Religion*. (New York, Macmillan Co., 1936, pp. viii, 185, $1.75.) Not for its complacent denial of many fundamentals of true Christianity do I criticize this book, but solely because of its bad history. Christianity of the first two centuries is misinterpreted according to the manner of Rationalists and Modernists. Christians are pictured as illiterate, and Christianity as a series of additions made by the followers of Jesus to His "three basic beliefs." The author makes of Christianity a wishy-washy inner-consciousness of God, the "Unseen Reality." However, the style is engaging, and the illustrative stories are interesting. (W. J. SCHIFFERLI.)

GURIAN, WALDEMAR, *The Future of Bolshevism.* Translated by E. I. Watkin. (New York, Sheed & Ward, Inc., 1936, pp. 125, $1.50.) Every American, and especially every Catholic American, should read this carefully prepared treatise by Waldemar Gurian and excellently translated by Mr. E. I. Watkin. The author of this volume of 125 pages has done a yeoman's service in exposing the inherent weakness of Bolshevism, and as a consequence, its future. The thesis of this work is first to show how one man, or rather one group of men, can dictate to and persuade a people, yes, an entire nation, that a certain group of leaders alone can give just what a national group crave, long for, hope for, work for. It is too plainly seen that this leading group trains the masses to understand that what they need is what this directing group wants for them. The dictators achieve their end by means of fear in its worst form—terrorism. Views other than theirs are most unpatriotic; anything other than absolute submission to governmental forces is detrimental and dangerous. In other words, to the upholders of Bolshevism the State is supreme. Such a boon, such a blessing as freedom does not exist in a country where Russian Bolshevism reigns supreme, or in Germany where another phase of Marxian politico-philosophy is being tried out. All who still hold for the forms of government that recognize their relation to, and dependence on, Christian principles will fulfill a duty in perusing these six worth-while chapters. In matters of this nature citizens of Christian nations should not, in the face of difficulties, be ostriches. (L. L. MCVAY.)

JACKSON, R. M., *The History of Quasi-Contract in English Law.* [Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.] (Cambridge, England, Cambridge University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. xxxi, 134, $3.75.) This very technical work will be of value to those legal scholars who regard the historical technique as indispensable for an adequate comprehension of law, and a true appreciation of its present state. After adopting Professor Winfield's conception of quasi-contract, as one which "connotes liability, not exclusively referable to any other head of the law, imposed upon a particular person to pay money to another particular person on the ground of unjust benefit," Mr. Jackson traces the evolution of the common-law idea of quasi-contract in terms of a category lying between contract and tort. The history of quasi-contract has been divided into two parts, namely, the period prior to the rise of the action of *indebitatus assumpsit*, in the seventeenth century, and the era thereafter. All the shortcomings of the book seem to be in reference to form. But these are more than overbalanced, first by the originality of the book, resulting from a careful examination of all the pertinent year-books, cases, and statutes, and of the primary sources relied upon by Mr. Jackson's predecessors in research in regard to the history of quasi-contract; secondly, by its thoroughness and insight; thirdly, by its unique and pioneering qualities; and fourthly, by the effective interpreting use of Roman law. (BRENDAN F. BROWN.)

JUGIÉ, MARTINO, A. A., *De Processione Spiritus Sancti ex Fontibus Revelationis et Secundum Orientales Dissidentes.* (Romae, Instituto Grafico Tiberino, 1936, pp. 418, L. 40.) The Apostolic Constitution "Deus Scientiarum

Dominus" requires that attention to the study of Oriental theology must now be given in our seminaries. The studies of Professor Jugié, a specialist in the field, being a consultor to the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church and a lecturer at the Roman Seminary and the Catholic Institute of Lyons, have convinced him that one of the most important questions involved is that of the Procession of the Holy Spirit. As the result of thorough research and investigation, he now publishes his findings. He treats his matter under a five-fold division: the "de fide" Catholic doctrine; the supporting Scriptural testimony; the evidence of Tradition prior to the Photian schism; the Greco-Latin controversy from the time of Photius until now; and finally, the Nestorian and Monophysite doctrine. Each division is handled well and thoroughly, the treatment of the present day position being particularly instructive. (JAMES E. DIXON.)

KARR, OTTO, *Religions of Mankind.* Translated by E. I. WATKIN. (New York, Sheed & Ward, 1936, pp. ix, 291, $3.00.) An excellent work and well translated, this is a concise and clearly presented view of the religions of mankind. In thirteen chapters the author has given a telling refutation to all arguments adverse to Catholicism, such as the myth of comparative religion as fostered by books like *The Golden Bough.* The author discusses five theories for the origin and nature of religion. In each of these he finds elements of truth. His treatment of the relation and comparison of Catholicism and the several forms of religion outside the Catholic Church is truly Catholic, while the weaknesses of all forms of religion outside that founded by Jesus Christ are charitably explained. It is indeed consoling to note how the author explains the testy argument that outside the true Church there is no salvation. (L. L. MCVAY.)

KIRKLAND, EDWARD C., *A History of American Economic Life.* (New York, F. S. Croft & Co., 1932, pp. xv, 767, $3.75.) This volume in Croft's American History Series is not only a scholarly piece of work but it is entertainingly written. In the words of the editor of the series, "the story is told with imaginative sweep, a sense of drama and an expert use of illustration." There are 42 pages of bibliography at the end of the book. Brief judgments are expressed concerning most of the works listed. (F. O'HARA.)

LANCTOT, GUSTAVE (ed.), *Documents Relating to Currency, Exchange and Finance in Nova Scotia, with Prefatory Documents, 1675-1758.* Selected by Adam Shortt. Completed with an Introduction by V. K. Johnston and revised and edited by Gustave Lanctot. (Ottawa, J. O. Pattenaude, 1933, pp. xlix, 495). This book is published by authority of the Secretary of State under the direction of the archivist. There is an excellent and lengthy introduction by Dr. Johnston giving a connected historical background to the documents relating to the finance, currency and exchange of Nova Scotia. Although the main theme is currency and bills of exchange many of the documents are full of human interest stories such as the recommendation of the chaplain at the garrison at Annapolis Royal that the officers be required to pay the troops in money instead of liquor, or the claim of the commandant that he had not presented a bill as he had a right to do for supplying provisions to soldiers who had been absent for reasons of death or desertion. (F. O'H.)

LECLÈVE, LOUIS, *Sainte Angèle de Foligno, Sa Vie. Ses Oeuvres.* (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1936, pp. iii, 242.) This is an account of a great mystic and contemplative of the Middle Ages. The author speaks of her as St. Angela, although canonically speaking she is one of the Beati. He explains the title by saying that in France she is known popularly as a saint and he has no wish to take the honor away from her. Blessed Angela came of a noble family and married a rich man. Her early life was careless, worldly and even sinful, according to her own statement. However, after a sudden conversion and the death of her husband and sons, she gave up all her possessions and embraced the absolute poverty of St. Francis, her spiritual father. She became a member of the Third Order and was the spiritual mother of a large family of tertiaries, both men and women. She died January 4, 1309. The present book by Leclève is a short volume which makes no pretense to deep scholarship. It is, however, an interesting and readable account, giving details of the early life of Blessed Angela, her subsequent mental anguish and the wonderful favors and visions which were granted her. (MARY ELIZABETH WALSH.)

MARIANI, Rev. BERNARDUS M., *Philosophiae Christianae Institutiones.* Volume III. (Turin-Rome, Libraria Marietti, 1936, pp. xxxi, 710.) The third volume of Father Mariani's philosophical work, designed *in usum adolescentium*, covers ethics, general and special, and the history of philosophy. In the section on ethics the subjects traditionally discussed are taken up in order: the ultimate end of man; human acts; the principles of morality; the norms of morality; the passions and their influence on human acts; virtues and vices; law; conscience; the duties of man to God, self and others; domestic, civil and religious society. Since the entire field of ethics is covered, treatment of certain questions that need fuller discussion is necessarily limited. Thus only a page is given to birth control and sterilization.

The section on the history of philosophy also covers so large a field that any exhaustive study is forbidden. An appendix of thirteen pages gives an outline of philosophical studies in the Servite order, to which the author belongs. The entire volume provides a usable Latin text suitable as a handbook for seminary students and as a basis for further and fuller studies in philosophy. (JOHN K. RYAN.)

MARSH, FRANK BURR and LEON, HARRY J. (Eds.), *Tacitus, Selections from his Works. Edited with Introduction and Notes.* (New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936, pp. xi, 545, $2.25.) This text book, the happy result of the combined efforts of a Professor of Ancient History and a Professor of Classical Languages, is to be welcomed as the most practical and up-to-date school edition of Tacitus available to American students. The "Selections" comprise passages from the *Annals* chosen primarily to illustrate the characters of Tiberius and Nero, the *Agricola* entire, and the *Germania* with the exception of the last 16 chapters. The Introduction is well done and the notes on historical and linguistic matters are accurate, clear, and sufficiently copious to make Tacitus intelligible to a generation of limping Latin students. The book is furnished also with a bibliography, a number of portraits of the

leading characters, maps and good indices. It is well printed and bound and the price is very reasonable. (M. R. P. McGuire.)

Newton, A. P., and Benians, E. A. (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. VIII, *South Africa, Rhodesia and the Protectorates.* (Cambridge, The University Press; New York, The Macmillan Co., 1936, pp. xxvi, 1005, $11.00.) With the publication of the work under review the *Cambridge History of the British Empire* reaches Volume VIII. This volume is devoted to the history, as its sub-title tells us, of South Africa, Rhodesia and the Protectorates, or roughly from the Zambesi River south to the Cape. The first two chapters, both written by South African scholars, are given to a description of the geographical environment and to the native inhabitants (pp. 1-53); chapter three by Professor Warmington of the University of London treats "Africa in Ancient and Medieval Times" in 25 pages. The fourth chapter opens the story of European contacts with the west African coast by the Portuguese at the dawn of the modern era. Of the 873 pages of text just about seven hundred are used to describe the history of South Africa following the first British occupation of 1795. The political narrative runs through the Imperial Conference of 1921 which introduced so many new features into the relations of Great Britain and her dominions.

The contributors to the volume have based their findings in good measure upon leading sources to which they give adequate reference in the footnotes. A bibliography of 90 pages, well classified, and divided into two main divisions, namely those sources to be found in Great Britain and those resting in archives and libraries of South Africa, will be a ready guide to students of South African problems. It is worth noting that of the many individuals contributing to the volume the largest number by far are South African scholars, jurists and statesmen. One representative of an American school, Professor deKiewiet of the State University of Iowa, has written part of two chapters. Professor Edgar Prestage of the University of London, whose recent work, *The Portuguese Pioneers*, has been so well received, has written the chapter of "The Portugese in South Africa," with Professor Newton of the same university, one of the general editors of the *Empire History*.

Altogether this volume is a worthy companion of the splendid set to which it belongs. A detailed index of almost 40 pages makes the volume readily usable to the reader as a work of reference. It may interest some of the readers of this journal to know that the provisions of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 were applied in the South African colony in 1830 (p. 359), and that now the Catholics number about 143,000 or 4.03 per cent of the total population (pp. 848-49). (John Tracy Ellis.)

Noonan, John P., S. J., A. M., J. D., *Principles of Law and Government.* (New York and Chicago, Mentzer, Bush and Company, 1936, pp. 224.) This little volume is a condensed set of notes on the principles of jurisprudence and government. Legal education has tended to become exclusively practical, involving study of cases, facts, and decisions, with little or no attention to the principles and rules which underlie the law. Father Noonan's work furnishes, in outline, a discussion of the legal and political principles which should form the basis of a sound legal education. The chief sources drawn from are: Aristotle, Suarez, Burke and Hamilton. (J. H. Kennedy.)

POST, DR. CHARLES G., *The Supreme Court and Political Questions.* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936, pp. 145.) In this number of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science Dr. Post has carefully examined a number of political questions which have come before the Supreme Court and which clearly indicate why these questions were referred for decision to the political departments of our government. The nature of the political question is carefully presented and the several reasons why the Supreme Court refused to review them are likewise explaind. The last paragraph of the sixth chapter will provoke meditation. (LEO L. MCVAY.)

PRZYWARA, ERICH, S. J. (Ed.), *An Augustine Synthesis.* (New York, Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1936, pp. vii, 459, $4.00.) The Reverend Erich Przywara, well known for his contribution to *A Monument to St. Augustine* and his *Newman Synthesis*, has collected and arranged certain passages of St. Augustine so as to give a systematic presentation of the teaching of the Christian Plato. Augustine speaks for himself. I think he would approve the synthesis which Father Erich Przywara has arranged. At least, the learned German philosopher has done a great service to the English-speaking world in giving it a fairly integral and representative view of Augustine's thought. The Introduction is by C. C. Martindale. (HOWARD SHEPSTON.)

ROSS, EVA J., *Social Origins.* (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1936, pp. 112.) This small volume, which can be read comfortably in an evening, is the substance of a short series of lectures given by the author at the Catholic Social Guild Summer School, Oxford, in August, 1935. In the opening chapter, some preliminary explanations are given, including sections on primitive mentality and the Kulturkreis theory. The author in contrast to most anthropologists accepts this theory; in particular she accepts the Viennese form of it as proposed and defended by Father Schmidt. The following four chapters are devoted to critical and constructive outlines of the origin and early development of the family, of the state, of private property and of religion. The work is written for the general reader rather than for the specialist. Most of the second-hand sources utilized by the author are good ones. Writing an outline of the kind is no easy task. It presupposes long years of professional acquaintance with, and work in, the field of cultural anthropology. The author, a sociologist lacking this acquaintance, has consequently been handicapped. Had she safeguarded her text by having it gone over carefully in manuscript by a technical anthropologist she would have been saved some of the many errors which detract seriously from the work; such, for instance, as the inclusion of the Ewe, Haida and Tlingit in the list of "primitives" (p. 19) in the peculiar sense in which Father Schmidt uses this term, and the delimitation of polyandry to a half a dozen peoples (p. 42). All in all there is much in this work that is excellent, much that is not. (REGINA FLANNERY.)

SALVIAT, S. THOR, *La Bienheureuse Gemma Galgani, la Vierge de Lucques.* (Paris, La Bonne Presse, 1936, pp. 203.) The life of Gemma is, as the Gospel itself testifies, a contradiction between human and heavenly values. The short biography shows how Gemma could reach the summits of spiritual-

ity only through the austerity of a life steeped in Christian asceticism. Gemma does not inaugurate a new *school* of spirituality, as Theresa of the Child Jesus does. She simply obeys divine inspirations and lets herself be guided by her spiritual director. She loved God and strove to stamp her life with the seal of the Passion of Christ, following the example of St. Francis of Assisi and of St. Paul of the Cross. Such is the description given by the author; such he has given her to us in lines so simple and so few that the whole life is shown us at a glance. The little book, of easy reading, can be understood by everyone and thus be an inspiration to each and all. (S. M. CESLAS.)

SELTER, H. FOURÉ, *L'Odyssée américaine d'une famille française. Le Docteur Antoine Saugrain. Étude suivie de Manuscrits inédits et de la Correspondance de Sophie Michau Robinson.* [Institut Français de Washington.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936, pp. x, 123.) Embedded in the correspondence of Dr. Antoine Saugrain and his sister-in-law, Sophie Michau Robinson, lies the moving story of those emigrés who fled the French Revolution to become the founders of Gallipolis, Ohio. In addition, the historical investigator will find in these papers unexpected information on relations of the United States with the Spanish colony of Mexico during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. Although his source material is somewhat fragmentary in character, it constitutes a valuable contribution to our all too meager knowledge of conditions surrounding the early settlement of the western United States. The author's introduction and commentary serve to tie together into an admirable whole the somewhat diverse elements that make up the basis of the study. (JOHN J. MENG.)

STEUART, R. H. J., S. J., *Diversity in Holiness.* (New York, Sheed & Ward, 1937, pp. 221, $2.00.) Nature in its variety of forms and manifold color displays the wonderful thought and power of its Almighty Creator. As in creation so in the formation of the saints is to be found the infinite planning of God. The purpose of this handy little volume is to "exhibit the identity-in-diversity of recognized holiness." This similarity is amply illustrated in the saints selected for consideration. They are selected from every walk of life and Father Steuart emphasizes the fact that the uncanonized saint is often studied and followed with more ease. The author, therefore, selected examples from among those who have not yet received the seal of authenticity from the Church. From a variety of settings and diverse characters the author has drawn lessons and teachings which will be profitable to all Christians. The galaxy of saints in this volume includes Mother Juliana of Norwich, Saint Frances De Sales, with his attractive sanctity and gentleness, Brother Lawrence, Carmelite apostle of the presence of God; the seeming failure, St. Benedict Joseph Labre, as well as the more familiar saints, St. Theresa of Lisieux, Curé D'Ars and St. Ignatius Loyola. These illustrate the doctrine that the objective and goal is the same for all men though it may be reached by different paths. This well-written volume will be helpful and useful reading for all readers. (SISTER REGINA, O. S. B.)

The Mystical Doctrine of St. John of the Cross. Being an abridgment of his works as translated into English by David Lewis and revised by Dom Benedict Zimmerman, O. D. C. With an Introduction by R. H. J. Steuart, S. J. (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1934, pp. 213.) In this abridgment of the mystical doctrine of St. John of the Cross are assembled in logical order passages from *The Ascent of Mount Carmel, The Dark Night of the Soul, The Living Flame of Love* and *The Spiritual Canticle.* These are chosen to elucidate the Saint's doctrine. St. John of the Cross is not reading for the rank and file. It is to be hoped, however, that this laudable effort on the part of understanding publishers may be rewarded by the response that it deserves, even on the part of the laity. (L. M. O'H.)

VELLICO, P. ANTONIO M., O. F. M., *Studio storico-dogmatico: La Rivelazione e le sue fonti nel "De Praescriptione Hereticorum" di Tertulliano.* (Roma, Lateranum, Ed. Instituto Grafico Tiberino, 1935, pp. xxiii, 223.) With this historico-dogmatic study the author, professor of Fundamental Theology in the Roman Seminary, amply proves that the teaching of the Church on Revelation is but the faithful echo of the remotest antiquity. Tertullian is certainly a well chosen witness of that antiquity, and Tertullian's work, which the author examines, even today retains its primitive freshness, and consequently its value for Catholic apologetics is immense. Tertullian's *De Praescriptione Hereticorum* has been studied and made to bear witness to truth quite often in the past, and in various ways, but in the present study the work is arranged and examined in a special manner for the service of fundamental theology strictly so-called, of which this little work may be considered the earliest systematic summary. All students of theology who read Italian will profitably consult Fr. Vellico's book. (C. I. C.)

VON MOHRENSCHILDT, DMITRI S., *Russia in the Intellectual Life of Eighteenth-Century France.* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1936, pp. 325.) While the influence of French culture on the development of Russia has been studied, no investigation of the reciprocal influence of Russia on France has been done. Mr. Mohrenschildt's book attempts to supplement the work of Emile Haumant, *La Culture française en Russie.* His study is divided into two principal sections: the direct relations between French and Russian society and Russia in eighteenth-century French literature. A more fruitful subject than it would at first appear, the work is a worth-while addition to the history of ideas in the Age of Reason. Beginning with ignorance and indifference in the early eighteenth century, French interest in Russia grew to the extent that in 1802 the vogue for traveling there was satirized in a popular vaudeville skit. Mohrenschildt even challenges the current opinion that England was the predominant influence in eighteenth-century France; he claims that in the period 1756-1789 (the time of greatest contact between Russia and France) that the influence of "The North" was greater.

The first section of the book is devoted to an enumeration and description of the various Russians who traveled in France, and of the Frenchmen who went to Russia. A chapter on early contacts and diplomatic relationships gathers references to Russia from sources from the *chansons de geste* up to the time of the visit of Tsar Peter to France in 1717, and summarizes the

official contacts of the two countries from 1717-1801. Another lists Russian visitors to France during the eighteenth century—a group extending from Peter the Great and members of the aristocracy to groups of Russian students who were distinguished principally for their riotous living. The third and fourth chapters, "Frenchmen in Russia during the Eighteenth Century" and "Principal Correspondents with the Russian Court," inevitably cover a good deal of the same ground as Haumant, but serve, nevertheless, to present the material in a compact form and to round out the study in a more complete fashion. Among the distinguished Frenchmen who wrote letters to the Empress Catherine (who was one of the principal channels through which the spirit of the philosopher entered Russia) Mohrenschildt treats Diderot, Grimm, Falconet, Voltaire, d'Alembert, Buffon and others.

The second part of the study, "Russia in Eighteenth-Century French literature," is divided into three chapters: the principal sources of information about Russia; the social and political views about Russia held by eighteenth-century French men of letters; and finally traces of Russia in eighteenth-century French belles-lettres. The first of these is simply a catalogue of works, in Latin, German, English, Italian and French which deal with Russia. As for social and political views about Russia, there were two principal camps in France during the eighteenth century. One, Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, saw in Catherine and Peter the flawless examples of the enlightened despot, and approved whole-heartedly of their reforms and their attempts to Europeanize the country. On the other hand, Montesquieu and the believers in the principles of democratic government (among whom Rousseau was the leader) could not view the reform program with so much enthusiasm. They held (and correctly) that a country could not be modernized by official degrees, that institutions could not be "set up" but must rather take root within the soil where they are expected to operate, and that the absence of political liberty, the climate, and various elements in the Russian national temperament were liabilities that the reforming monarchs could not reckon with successfully. The traces of Russia in French belles-lettres are not abundant. The admiration of the French philosophers for Peter the Great produced one incomplete and wholly dull epic poem called the *Petreide*, written by Thomas; it resolves itself into an uninspired list of the places that Peter visited, mingled with chants of praise in honor of progress and industrial advance. The author also cites a number of poems, novels and comedies that use Russian locale or characters. None of them deserves to survive because of any literary merit; their sole value is that they serve as indications of the trend of ideas.

The conclusions of the study are decidedly negative. Russia had no real influence in the spiritual or intellectual history of eighteenth-century France. Here and there, we find surface indications that frequent contact between the two countries existed, but Russia made no real contribution in affecting the French national temperament. Nor was French interest in Russia of a really lively sort. Frenchmen were not deeply concerned with the Slavic character, with the fundamental aspects of Russia. The philosophers were concerned with Russia principally because of the reforms that were being introduced there, in the attempt of Catherine and Peter to transform what France con-

sidered a barbaric nation into a "modern" one. Studies of Russia dealt largely with commercial and geographical questions. And French men of letters were inspired to correspond with the court not so much because of a burning enthusiasm for the country but because they had hope of personal preferment and possible profit there. (LEON BAISIER.)

WALKER, WINSLOW M., *The Troyville Mounds, Catahoula Parish, La.* [Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 113.] (Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution, 1936, pp. 73, 16 plates, 15 text figures, $ .20.) After carefully investigating what remained in 1932 of the Great Mound—one of the largest in the whole mound area—and several other points in the group, the author has been able with the aid of ethnological and historical material to reconstruct with plausibility the history of the Troyville Mounds, starting at an unknown period previous to four hundred years ago with a people whose culture resembled that of the Hopewell Mound Builders. At a later time the basic structure was added to. When De Soto discovered the capital city of Anilco, the territory seemed to have been populated by a group related to the Natchez. Subsequently the great truncated cone was added to the double terraced base. The site was probably not occupied by aborigines after 1730. (REGINA FLANNERY.)

WEDEL, WALDO RUDOLPH, *An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology.* [Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 112.] (Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution, 1936, pp. 122, 12 plates, 10 maps, $ .30.) Wedel has broadened the technical archaeological report to include the traditional origin and early movements, as well as a concise documentary history (1541-1876), of this important and powerful plains tribe. The able correlation of the three lines of evidence shows that "the Pawnee formerly constituted a part of the Southeastern woodlands culture area . . . retaining and disseminating many of the traits thus acquired throughout the period of their northern residence [in northern Kansas and southern Nebraska] until the final withering of native plains culture before the European conquest." (REGINA FLANNERY.)

WILLS, ELBERT VAUGHAN, Ph. D., *The Growth of American Higher Education.* (Philadelphia, Dorrance and Company, 1936, pp. 225.) The history of education has followed the course of other disciplines which, beginning as general presentations of extant knowledge in a wide field, have been gradually broken up into a number of subdivisions dealing with special phases or aspects of the whole. Hence, while there is no let-up in the publication of general histories of education, there is a steady trend in the direction of studies confined to particular epochs or movements in the educational world. Such limited discussions have a dictinct value in that they permit the author to go more deeply into the sources and to present the reader with a more detailed picture of events than is possible for the general historian. There is ample justification, therefore, for a work like that of Dr. Willis, which traces the growth and development of higher education in the United States.

The author describes first the establishment of the colonial colleges and then goes on to explain the conditions that led to the organization of the State universities and the land grant colleges. Next, he reviews the spread of

the denominational college movement and the contributions of the various religious sects to the formation of American leadership. The gradual separation of professional and technical instruction, including teacher-training, from the program of general education; the work of the pioneers in the campaign for the higher education of women; the subsidizing of colleges and educational foundations by American philanthropists; the evolution of the college curriculum; the organization of the graduate school as a center of research; the growth of the municipal university; and the development of the junior college are the other main topics with which the author deals.

As an historical sketch, Dr. Wills' work will be found quite satisfactory, but it is doubtful whether the reader will derive from it any very definite conception of the philosophy underlying American higher education. Perhaps the author has purposely refrained from an interpretation of the facts presented in order to avoid any suggestion of controversy. If this was his intention, he has succeeded admirably, but he has barely saved his work from the monotony of a chronicle. Despite this fact, students of education will find the volume very useful. However, they will be inclined to anathematize the author for his failure to include an index. (EDWARD B. JORDAN.)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

The Materialistic and the Humanistic Interpretations of History. Folke Leander (*American Review*, September).

Why Study History? J. I. Kreider (*Social Studies*, October).

Is Clio a Muse? W. E. Bean (*Sewanee Review*, October-December). The writing of history by American historians.

El Hombre y la Historia. Gerhard Masur (*Universidad de Antioquia*, October).

A Philosophical Classification of Historiography. Salvatore Russo (*Social Studies*, December).

Recent Developments in Crusading Historiography. T. S. R. Boase (*History*, September).

Church and State in the Newest Age. Edward Quinn (*Dublin Review*, October).

The Totalitarian Régimes: an Essay in Essential Distinctions. R. J. S. Hoffmann (*American Review*, September).

Hellenism and Christianity. C. H. Dodd (*Harvard Divinity School Bulletin*, 1936-1937).

The Philosophy of Aristotle and the Hellenic-Macedonian Policy. Hans Kelsen (*International Journal of Ethics*, October).

Soul of Archilochus: the Religion of an Historian. H. O. Taylor (*Atlantic*, November).

Medieval Hymns. Max Fischer (*Commonweal*, November 5).

The Church in Ignatius of Antioch. C. C. Richardson (*Journal of Religion*, October).

Guardians of the Holy Sepulchre. D. V. Duff (*Dublin Review*, October).

The Guild Order of the Middle Ages. W. J. Marx (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, November).

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Catholic China. A. H. Atteridge (*Month*, December).
Catholic Shanghai. A. H. Atteridge (*Month*, October).
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La persecución Religiosa después de la Independencia (continued). J. G. Gutiérrez (*Christus*, October).
El Congreso Confederal de 1837. J. S. Ochoa (*Revista del Instituto Arqueologico del Cusco*, II, no. 2).
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The Inquisition up to Date. G. C. Coulton (*History*, September). H. C. Lea's history examined in the light of *European Civilization* (E. Eyre, ed.).
Bossuet as a Preacher. Henry Hogarth (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, October).
Le catéchisme impérial de 1806. René Pinon (*Études*, November). "Épisode de la Politique religieuse de Napoléon."
Irish Footprints in Rouen. Richard Hayes (*Studies*, September).
Dom Théodore Nève, Abbé de Saint-André. Jean van der Cruyce (*Revue Générale*, October).
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The Religious Revival under Salazer: a Second Spring in Portugal. R. S. Devane, S. J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, November).
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THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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Dr. Coulton Again. Herbert Thurston (*Month*, October). Concerning the recent controversy over Henry C. Lea.
The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century. Sir Ivor Atkins (*Antiquaries Journal*, October).
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The "Westminster Archives." Philip Hughes (*Dublin Review*, October).
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St. Lawrence O'Toole and the Anglo-Norman Invasion. J. F. O'Doherty (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, November).
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UNITED STATES

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English Liberal Thought in Early United States History. C. H. Van Duzer (*Pennsylvania History*, October).
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The Quest of Henry Adams, II: the Influence of Chartres. James Brodrick (*Month*, November).
The Ruthenian Question in the United States. D. A. Schmal, S. J. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, November).
The Catholic Tradition in Vermont. T. F. O'Connor (*The Michaelman*, November).
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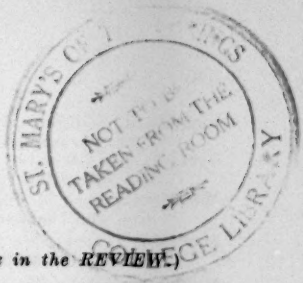

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CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES AND MISCELLANY

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